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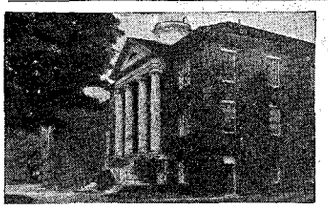

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The Outlook

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Vol. 125 June 23, 1920 No. 8

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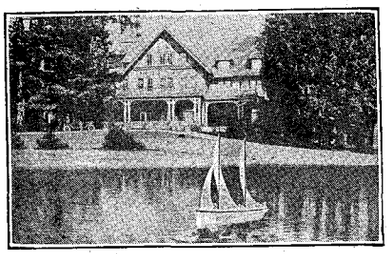

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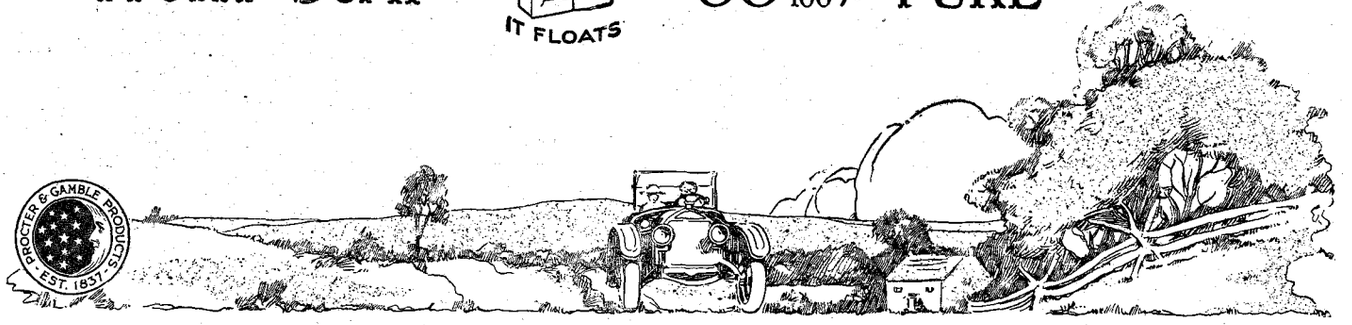

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The Outlook

JUNE 23, 1920

The report of the Republican Convention, together with The Outlook's interpretation of the result, begins on page 370

THE WEEK

THE ELECTIONS IN GERMANY

THE nation-wide elections for members of the Reichstag which have just taken place in Germany are the first to be held under the new Constitution. The number of separate parties and the consequent possibilities for combinations and groupings of the parties make the significance of the elections difficult to interpret. There were six parties of considerable size represented by candidates, and in addition there were at least three, and very likely more, comparatively small factions bearing separate names. Every one of the six major parties polled over two million votes; the Majority Socialists led with over five and a half millions when the count was still incomplete.

The most important issue involved was whether the Majority Socialist party could continue, through its already existing coalition with the Democrats and Centrists, to control such a working majority in the Reichstag as would avert threatened danger on the one side from the Independent Socialists, the extreme radical party, and, on the other, from the reactionaries who hope for a restoration of the Empire.

The latest reports we have received indicate that earlier fears that political control by the moderate parties of Germany was overthrown were exaggerated. As we write, it is believed that the Majority Socialists and their political allies still retain strength enough to resist the attacks from the extreme Left and the extreme Right, even if those two apparently opposing elements should combine. Nevertheless, the loss of the Majority Socialists is large—the latest estimate we have seen indicates that instead of 163 seats it will have about 110; on the other hand, the gains of the Independent Socialists have been so large as to make men inside and outside of Germany who fear the spread of Bolshevism keenly apprehensive. The falling off in power of the party of Majority Socialists is not surprising; it has had the odium of making a humiliating peace, and it has vainly tried to hold a middle course between radicalism and reaction, with the inevitable result of displeasing ardent advocates of both factions. It is hard for any one who has watched the insincere and time-serving course of the Majority Socialists in Germany to feel any particular confidence in their party. From the very beginning of the war the Majority Socialists said, Yes, sir! Yes, sir! Yes, sir! to everything the Kaiser proposed, bent their backs supinely to the demands of imperialism and terrorism, and were the mere tools of autocracy. Perhaps they are patriotic democrats and mild Socialists now, but the world at large feels that Germany has a long way to go before she attains genuine representative government and an enlightened mind as to her need of repentance and her duty as an acceptable member of the society of nations.

THE NEW ITALIAN CABINET

RECENTLY successive Italian Cabinets have been presided over by the same Prime Minister, Francesco Nitti. A new Italian Cabinet, however, is as we write in process of being formed by Giovanni Giolitti.

Signor Nitti represents the great middle-of-the-road element in Italian politics. His balance and poise have been specially shown in his course regarding Fiume. He tried to cultivate the friendship rather than the enmity of the Jugoslavs. He succeeded in getting the two Governments to agree to maintain the territorial integrity of Albania and to settle amicably the recent clashes between the Italians and the Slavs on the eastern shore of the Adriatic. Nitti tried to apply to home affairs much the same ideas. Here, however, he was not so successful, and finally fell because of a Government proposal towards greater control of the bread output.

His successor, Giolitti, has been more widely known than he—first, because of premierships of other years in which Giolitti cleverly conducted Italian affairs; and, secondly, because of Giolitti's attitude at the beginning of the war, when he pleaded so hard for Italian neutrality as to convince some people that he was really a pro-German. In pronouncing himself in favor of Italian neutrality Giolitti revealed the fact that in August, 1913 (ten months before the assassination of the Archduke Francis Ferdinand, which was Austria's pretext for the war of 1914), the Austrian Government communicated to the Italian Government the Austrian intention to take up arms against Serbia. Giolitti replied that such an action would be on Austria's account solely, that it could not be defensive "because nobody thinks of attacking her [Austria], and could not elicit aid from Italy as a member of the Triple Alliance" (Austria, Germany, Italy). The Italian interpretation was accepted by Italy's then allies.

The statement made two things clear: first, Italy would not aid the other two parties of the Triple Alliance in aggressive warfare; second, a year before the war began, Austria and Germany had determined on war. Public opinion was thus instructed as to the ultimate responsibility of the war.

In spite of this statement, Giolitti's reputation for pro-Germanism persists.

"IF THINE ENEMY HUNGER, FEED HIM"

IN The Outlook of June 2 an appeal was published asking Americans to help, through the American Relief Administration (of which Mr. Herbert Hoover is President), the starving children of Vienna. The appeal was enforced with a photograph, taken in the American Relief Administration's clinic in Vienna, of an undernourished child. Such was the effect of this call on the generosity of the American people, as represented by Outlook readers, that in ten days, so we are informed by the American Relief Administration, more than four thousand three hundred dollars was sent to that organization for these suffering children directly in response to the appeal in The Outlook. This somewhat unexpectedly large contribution for the relief of the children of our recent enemies is a practical demonstration of the leavening influence of Christianity in times when many have feared that the war spirit had supplanted the Christ spirit. A letter to The Outlook that accompanied a gift to help the Viennese children tells the story

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of the giver's doubt, reflection, and finally triumphant magnanimity so tersely that we publish it here:

> I think I must relate my experience because it is so vital that you may be able to use it as a quickening sort of propaganda. Of course I was sorry for the poor Austrian children, but I felt somewhat as a returned A. E. F. physician expressed it: "Seems to me I remember something in the Bible about the sins of the fathers being visited upon the children even unto the third and fourth generation of them that hate me." I had almost decided to do what I could for deprived children near at hand when the "still, small Voice" cried suddenly into the ear of my mind, "If thine enemy hunger, feed him." And of course, if we had the Austrians in our country and power, we wouldn't let them suffer, much less their children, who have been so unfortunate in their selection of parents!

Another contributor wrote to the Relief Administration:

> Inclosed please find my check for relief of Viennese children. You should circulate the picture in The Outlook. It jarred me out of my smugness and would probably do likewise with about a hundred thousand other Americans. "We know not what we do" when we pass by such appeals as this.

Another:

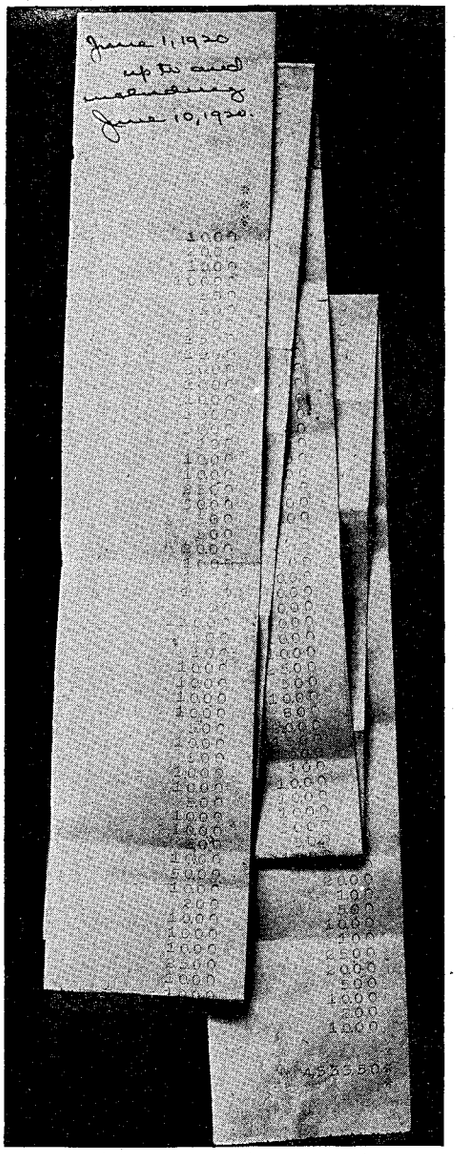
> I am as unreconciled to the Central Powers as ever, and I have been giving to their victims instead of them; but Austria is now a Weakness rather than a Power, and perhaps her worst living victims are within her own gates. So, against my will, I make this contribution.

"A LITTLE CHILD SHALL LEAD THEM"

THE American Relief Adminstration informs us that relief work in Vienna will still be urgent for many months to come. It plans to continue giving one meal a day to scores of thousands of undernourished children in that once flourishing capital of Austria until next spring at least. Consequently contributions to help these children are still needed. We close this recognition of the generosity of our readers by printing the following letter from an eleven-year-old American philanthropist:

> I read the article in The Outlook this week about the poor children in Vienna. I am *so* sorry for them. I want to help them a little bit anyway. I am sending a check for two dollars. I have been helping my daddy do the chores on the farm that we live on, and I have been getting $1.00 a week. I am going to give two dollars of mine to help the poor children in Vienna.
>
> I feel rich compared with them, poor little children.
>
> When I first saw the picture in The Outlook of the half-starved girl, I thought she must be a little girl. Daddy said that "she was probably about fifteen years old." I am eleven years old.

The above-quoted letters, which were forwarded to us by the American Relief Administration, were accompanied by a typewritten slip over four feet in length, containing a list of contributions varying from $1 to $500 and totaling the sum of $4,333.50, sent by Outlook readers. A picture of this slip, folded as received, accompanies this paragraph. Besides these



WHAT "UNCLES FOR HUNGRY CHILDREN" DID FOR THOSE CHILDREN IN TEN DAYS

The picture shows a slip, four feet long when extended, enumerating sums from $1 to $500 and totaling $4,333.50, sent in response to an appeal in The Outlook for starving European children

amounts, several hundred dollars in the form of food drafts were sent in response to the appeal. Additional sums may be sent either in the form of food drafts, which may be bought of any banker, or by checks, addressed: American Relief Administration, European Children's Department (*Vienna*), 115 Broadway, New York City.

Needless to say, the sympathies of our readers need not be confined to the single city of Vienna, which has been used to objectify the need of relief that still prevails in many European countries. Poland, Armenia, and Hungary are still sadly in need of succor, and the American Relief Administration will gladly welcome contributions for any of these countries that may be specifically named or will use in its discretion any sum which may be forwarded to it for the general relief of the distressed peoples it is ministering.

MUSICAL ENVOYS

WITH a series of concerts in England the New York Symphony Orchestra has completed an extraordinary and successful tour of western Europe. It is hard to imagine any more effective method of acquainting friends of America in other countries with some of the best side of American life than this achievement of Walter Damrosch and his orchestra. Everywhere in France, Italy, Belgium, and England the members of the orchestra were greeted with cordiality and hospitality. "Through music we approached these friendly people," said Mr. Damrosch in an interview with a representative of the New York "Times," "with a language which is theirs just as much as ours, and their delight in discovering that we, too, speak that language and love it as much as they do, has been truly touching. The people everywhere have been astonished at the discipline and capability of *nuance* shown by our orchestra. They were still more astonished when I told them that we have twelve symphony orchestras in America which, like ours, rehearse daily through the season."

It is natural that this introduction of America's musical interest should come as a surprise to Europe. How could these people know this side of American character? They know our athletes, who have competed on even terms with theirs; they know our business, our banking, our commerce, with which they have had transactions; and they now know of the ability of Americans as citizen soldiers, for they have seen them tested by their own military standards. It required, however, some such demonstration as this of the New York Symphony Orchestra to make clear that the musical literature which they enjoy we enjoy likewise and have in common with them.

Those who heard this orchestra during the war and remember its playing of "The Star-Spangled Banner" will understand the Belgian verdict on our National anthem. Several Belgian critics, upon hearing Mr. Damrosch's orchestration of this naturalized American air, which was played at every concert in conjunction with the national air of the visited country, said that they realized for the first time that it was a noble piece of music.

In Paris, where the first concert was given, the audience was enthusiastic, and

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CARTOONS OF THE WEEK

AS SELECTED BY OUTLOOK READERS

(See offer on page 390)

Cory in the Rocky Mountain News

GETTING RESTLESS!

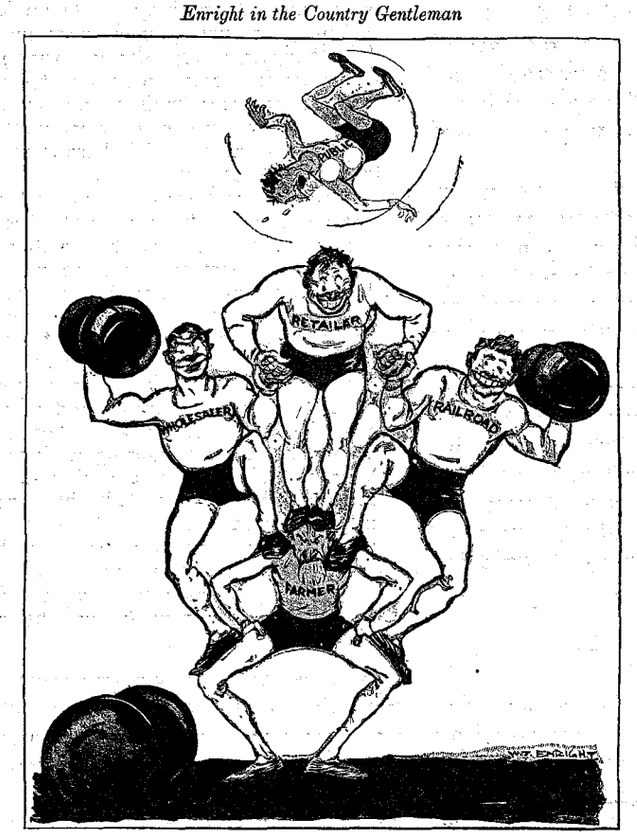
From A. W. Gillette, Denver, Colorado

Morris in the New Haven Journal-Courier

SLIGHTLY INDISPOSED

From John W. Rice, New Haven, Conn.

Enright in the Country Gentleman



CIRCUS TIME

From Margaret I. Baker, Watertown, N. Y.

Kuhn in the Rocky Mountain News

A TICKLISH THING TO HANDLE

From Mignon Baker, Canyon City, Colorado

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after the performance of d'Indy's Istar variations gave the French composer an ovation. After the concert a number of eminent composers of France present personally congratulated the American conductor.

In Rome the orchestra was received with official ceremonies as well as with popular applause. In Belgium newspapers praised the orchestra as a model for their own country. In London critics spoke of the orchestra in terms of highest commendation. According to the New York "Times" correspondent, Landon Ronald, British composer and conductor, characterized the first concert as one of the finest he had ever attended and as an immense success, and spoke specially of the performance of the third movement of Beethoven's Eroica Symphony as "the finest we have ever heard." The London "Chronicle's" music critic thus describes the orchestra: "The tone is rich and sonorous in ensemble, the strings of beautiful quality, the woodwind delicate, and the brass mellow, while the finished style of playing is remarkable."

Mr. Damrosch, Albert Spalding the American violinist, and John Powell the American composer-pianist, who were on the tour and played at the concerts, and the members of the New York Symphony Orchestra, have been in truth ambassadors from the mind of America to the mind of Europe, and have done an incalculable service in the development of mutual respect, good will, and understanding.

THE INTERNATIONAL WOMAN SUFFRAGE ALLIANCE CONGRESS

THE International Woman Suffrage Alliance Congress has just closed its sessions at Geneva, Switzerland. Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, who has been the efficient President of the Alliance, was unanimously re-elected, despite her declaration that she felt compelled to retire; she has agreed to accept the office again. Her address called on women to aid the Alliance politically, morally, and economically during the years of hard work ahead. While one of the resolutions passed by the Congress gratefully acknowledges the fact that the League of Nations admits women to its activities, there is, as Lady Astor pointed out, much work ahead for women. She said, as reported:

> Let us avoid talking cant about the League. The ideal is fine, but unless peoples and nations are just toward each other, the League is utterly useless. . . .
>
> We must not flatter ourselves that the world will ever be put right by woman as she now is, but as she is going to be.

The indication of that future was the presence at the Congress of women from many nations of Europe and America, and also from Japan and India; indeed, the latter formed a marked feature of the Congress. They wore gorgeous costumes of silks richly embroidered with gold; they made speeches in practically perfect English and spoke of suffrage societies at home, declaring that the Government had already accepted the principle of woman suffrage for India. The Japanese delegates, in native costume, also spoke. Though woman suffrage has made little progress in Japan, they prophesied that before many years the Congress would meet in Tokyo.

The next Congress is to take place in Paris, the acceptance of the invitation from the women of France, however, being contingent on their obtaining the franchise within a year previous to the date of the Congress.

THE WAR MEMORIALS COUNCIL

SECRETARY OF WAR BAKER announces, we note, the formation of a War Memorials Council. It will advise in all matters pertaining to the care of our war-dead abroad.

There are very many locations where the American dead are buried. It has been recommended that the bodies of our dead, not to be returned to this country, be concentrated as far as possible. In some cases this can be done; in others there would be an offense to sentiment, for there is a general feeling that our dead should rest in the place where they fought. Nevertheless, the three great American cemeteries in France at Romagne, Belleau, and Suresnes are expected to be thus increased in size.

The American "fields of honor" in France are to be planted with American memorial trees, approached by memorial drives, and made the more impressive by statues, mausoleums, and headstones. As is appropriate, therefore, the members of the new Council consist of representatives of the American Forestry Association, the American Fine Arts Commission, the American Institute of Architects, and the American Legion, as well as of the War Plans Division of the General Staff, the Cemeterial Division of the Quartermasters Corps, and of the Navy Department.

THE MINNESOTA WHEAT INDUSTRY

THREE or four weeks ago we published a paragraph from a correspondent in Minnesota telling us some of the difficulties of the wheat-growers in that region, but on the whole giving an encouraging report of the future in that great wheat-growing State. We have received another letter from this same correspondent from which we think the following interesting paragraphs are well worth quoting:

> Since you express an interest in the agricultural welfare of our country, permit me to say that crop prospects in the Northwest were never so good. The weather has been ideal. Every one feels confident that this will be a bumper year. The weather is cool and moist interspersed with plenty of sunshine. The Government's request has resulted in farmers sowing more wheat.
>
> We hear much these days about car shortage as a cause of high prices. I wonder sometimes if it is as much a shortage of cars as inefficiency in moving them. We unloaded a car of wheat from Oklahoma not long ago that had been in transit nearly two months. I bought a car of wheat on the track at Minneapolis three weeks ago and ordered it sent here. It has not yet arrived. We are situated only one hundred and forty miles from Minneapolis. An auto makes the journey in less than a day, and a freight train starting out in the morning can easily get here in twenty-four hours after allowing for all necessary time for switching. Recently it took thirty days to transport a car of flour from our mill to Chicago. Regarding the car of wheat above mentioned, it should not take more than one day to haul it from Minneapolis to the Minnesota transfer, a distance of about eight miles. It would seem that it was not an insurmountable task to switch it to the Soo road. One day's time should accomplish that. Then it should take only another day to get it here, and yet three weeks have gone by and the car has not made its appearance.
>
> Railways do not allow shippers to waste time. They charge us demurrage promptly. Evidently they waste many days themselves. One day last winter a whole loaded train spent twenty-four hours on the side-track in front of our mill. I do not know why. It had neither engine nor caboose and there were no broken cars. It just *stood there.*
>
> I suppose it is easy for us to tell the railways how to do their work. Criticism is about the easiest thing to utter in this world. I wish we had some men in the railway industry with the clear head that the editor of The Outlook has had in public matters to think out that problem. I believe it is more a matter of thought than of execution. It is about as easy to handle a large matter as a small one if one has the plan. James J. Hill was a marvel in figuring out how to do it. I had a brother a civil engineer for Mr. Hill when he built the Great Northern road west of the Cascade Mountains. Mr. Hill used to be on the job himself all the time. He did not use a special car. Frequently he walked. He was always at the front directing the big things.

We hope the above paragraphs may fall under the eye of some members of the new Inter-State Commerce Commission. The future of the railways depends largely upon the wisdom and executive efficiency of that Commission. This means that its members have the future welfare of the country in their hands, for the railways supply the arterial blood of the National organism.

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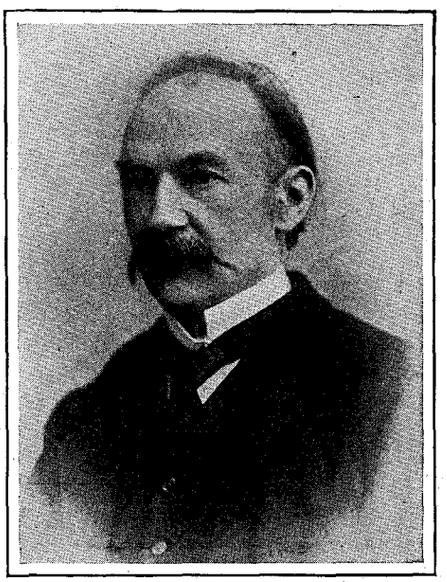
THOMAS HARDY OF WESSEX

NO other novelist but Hardy, now just eighty years old, has recreated a kingdom for his own use. Many have imagined realms of fancy like Howells's Altruria or Stevenson's Grünewald. But Hardy revived, fictionally speaking, part of the ancient Anglo-Saxon Kingdom of Wessex, modernized it in a curious way by leaving as they were important geographical names, gave others pseudonyms (as Melchester for Salisbury and Christminster for Oxford), and filled in with towns and villages of his own where he chose. He peopled this Wessex with the men and women of his many novels, from "Desperate Remedies" (1872) to "The Well-Beloved" (1897)—two stories, by the way, which are least representative of his real genius. One excellent edition of the Hardy novels has in each volume a map of this semi-imaginary kingdom, and Hardy's admirers take a gentle pleasure in linking up the imaginary and real geography. So, in a way, we may look at Thomas Hardy as king of a fanciful realm into which he has been kind enough to admit us for our entertainment.

It is said that when he was receiving congratulations on his eightieth birthday recently Mr. Hardy remarked that he was not only well but busy. Whether his new work is to be a novel or a long poem we are not told. It is known, however, that Hardy's original bent was toward writing verse and that he was all but coaxed into the field of fiction by his great contemporary novelist, George Meredith, helped, some say, by the need of ready money. In the eyes of many critics Hardy's achievement as a poet is quite as great as in fiction. His epic-drama of Napoleonic times, "The Dynasts," is pronounced by one English critic his supreme achievement; and Edmund Gosse, an excellent judge, declares that Hardy will live longer through his verse than his fiction. To the general reader, however, "The Dynasts" is turgid in form and over-subtle in philosophical content.

"Life's Little Ironies" is the title of a volume of Hardy's short stories of Wessex. The phrase "Life's Tragic Ironies" might be used to describe the underlying attitude of his novels generally. One feels, to quote an English critic, that Hardy holds "that human life is governed by inscrutable forces, that human beings are puppets of fate and destined to misery." This is hardly an inspiring or sound view of life. If the crushing pressure of circumstance is unavoidable, it may at least ennoble. In some of his work Hardy recognizes this, but it cannot be said that the majority of his men and women have high ideals or spiritual fineness. Despite the crude criticism upon "Tess of the D'Urbervilles" because its theme is the tragedy of illicit love, it leaves the reader with a better taste in the mouth, a stronger feeling that Hardy recognizes the beauty of sacrifice and self-abnegation and looks deeper into the human heart, than such a story as "The Return of the Native," which is generally ranked as Hardy's most finished piece of work.

Hardy's philosophy may be helpless and hopeless, but his narrative is not dismal or dull. His humor and gently satirical innuendo are pervasive. That he can deal with life simply and delightfully



THOMAS HARDY

This photograph was taken at the time when the author was in the full tide of writing the fiction that has made him celebrated

was early shown in "Under the Greenwood Tree," with its rural charm and pretty fancy. Like Blackmore and Phillpotts, he never tires of presenting the English rustic in his quaint talk and dry, slow drollery—a figure such as Shakespeare painted over and over again, notably in "A Winter's Tale."

If we were to suggest only four of Hardy's novels for re-reading at this time, when a decided revival of interest in his work is evident, they would be "Tess" for its beauty and sincerity; "Under the Greenwood Tree" for its joyousness; "Far from the Madding Crowd" for its vivacity and abundance of incident; "The Return of the Native" for its careful workmanship; by all means add to the novels some, at least, of the short tales from "Life's Little Ironies" and "A Group of Noble Dames."

One wonders how many novelists of the present quarter-century will find their works so widely read at the end of the next as are to-day the stories by Thomas Hardy which so delighted us in the seventies and eighties of the last century.

THE SECOND-CLASS MAN

THE phrase "a second-class man" has acquired a tinge of contempt that it does not deserve. Much of the best and most permanent work of the world has been done by "second-class men." Only the very exceptional leaders or creators are entitled to be ranked in the first class, and the very insistence and positiveness of their genius often make them ineffective as administrators.

Most of us are second-class men. Indeed, the United States is a Nation of second-class men, and it is, in fact, the glory of the Nation that hundreds of thousands of its citizens are in, not the fifth or tenth class, but in the second class. It is the very function of democracy to create as many second-class men as possible, not a caste of hereditary, plutocratic, or intellectual aristocrats and a mass of proletariat, but a great body of men of common capacities, common principles, and common endeavor. The first-class man is a rare bird in any field of American life. He and his compeers can be counted in terms of simple arithmetic. In statesmanship Washington, Franklin, Jefferson, Marshall, Webster, Lincoln, Roosevelt; in war, Lee, Stonewall Jackson, Grant; in the life of the intellect, Jonathan Edwards, Emerson, Hawthorne, Poe, Beecher—such are a few of the overtowering names that come at random to mind.

Theodore Roosevelt has put the case for the second-class man in a way that deserves often to be quoted:

> There are two kinds of success. One is the very rare kind that comes to the man who has the power to do what no one else has the power to do. That is genius. . . . Only a very limited amount of the success of life comes to persons possessing genius. The average man who is successful—the average statesman, the average public servant, the average soldier, who wins what we call great success—is not a genius. He is a man who has merely the ordinary qualities that he shares with his fellows, but who has developed those ordinary qualities to a more than ordinary degree. . . . In public life it is not genius, it is not extraordinary subtlety or acuteness of intellect that is important. The things that are important are the rather commonplace, the rather humdrum virtues that in their sum are designated as character. If you have in public life men of good ability, not geniuses, but men of good abilities, with character—and, gentlemen, you must include common sense as one of the most important elements of character—if you possess such men, the Government will go on very well.

These are words of cheer to those of us who know that we are second-class men and who see only men like ourselves to lead the country out of the slough of despond into which it has been plunged by the Great War.

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THE REPUBLICAN CONVENTION
ITS CANDIDATES AND PLATFORM

I—THE NOMINATIONS: AN EDITORIAL

THE Republican nomination of Mr. Harding comes as a surprise and a disappointment to the great majority of Republicans. He stood well toward the bottom of the poll in the primary election. He was not even a "favorite son;" for he did not have the solid delegation of his own State. He was nominated not because he had enlisted many friends but because he had made no enemies. The advocates of Johnson preferred Harding to Wood; the advocates of Wood preferred Harding to Johnson. The effect of a Presidential primary appears to be, not the selection by the people of their favorite, but the elimination of those candidates to whom there is any great hostility. If Mr. Harding is elected, it will not be because there is any popular enthusiasm for him, but because he and his policies, so far as his policies are known, have excited no antagonism. It was said by one of Cleveland's supporters, "We love him for the enemies he has made." Harding is chosen because he has made none.

There is, however, a less apparent but we believe a more weighty reason for his nomination. The people are tired of a Government at odds with itself. Chicago has nominated a leader who will not lead but who will co-operate. It is an old saying that it takes two to make a quarrel. The self-appointed Congressional Committee have nominated a man who they believe will not quarrel.

The Congress has certain important functions with which the President cannot, or certainly ought not to, interfere. The President has certain important functions with which the Congress cannot, or certainly ought not to, interfere. But there is a large field in which the Congress and the President must co-operate, and in which their respective functions are not and cannot be clearly defined. The President has important powers in legislation. The Congress has important powers in executive action. It is inevitable that questions should continually arise between the President and the Congress as to their respective powers and duties. If the President and the leaders in the Congress are of a jealous or self-assertive temper, these questions may at any time become the subject of controversy; if they are of opposite parties and advocates of antagonistic policies, those controversies may at any time become bitter.

The problem how to secure co-operation between the legislative and the executive confronts all democracies. If the legislature becomes the creature of the executive, the result is despotism; if the executive becomes the creature of the legislature, the result is certain to be delays and liable to be hesitating and vacillating policies. England has solved this problem in a characteristically English fashion. Formerly the king appointed the ministers, and conflict between the Ministry and Parliament was always possible. The king still in form selects the ministers, but they are in fact chosen by the House of Commons. If a controversy between the Ministry and the House arises, the Ministry either resigns or orders a new election. The proposal in this country to provide for the recall of the chief magistrate has excited the greatest apprehension; but the recall of the chief executive, the prime minister, has existed in England for nearly a century.

When, in April, 1917, America entered the war, it entered whole-heartedly. The Nation became an encampment. Some entered the Army, some the Navy; some worked in the fields raising food, some in the factories making munitions and clothing. The President is the Commander-in-Chief of the Army, and the whole country was the Army. "Support the President" became the motto of the American people. Patriotic citizens forgot their politics; critics ceased to criticise; only a small minority of half-hearted citizens of doubtful patriotism, supported by some slackers and a few really conscientious objectors, stood outside the ranks. What the President asked for was done. He called on the people, not on the banks, for money, and they subscribed. He asked them to give to him the control of the railways, and they promptly complied. He told them that we needed ships, and they initiated ship-building on a scale unprecedented in the history of any country. He paid enormous wages to secure speed, and there were few or no complaints. He warned us of the dangers threatened by unscrupulous agitators, and we consented to limitations never before known in America on the liberty of assemblage and on the liberty of the press. To prevent the impoverishment of the world we poured out our wealth. To protect the liberty of the world we restricted our liberties. To defend the life of the world we offered our own lives.

When, in November, 1918, the armistice was declared, the American people, always reluctant for war, were eager for peace. "Follow the President" ceased to be their motto. They wished to have something to say respecting the Treaty of Peace. The determination of the Senate to be consulted reflected an equally resolute determination of the people. The elections of November, 1918, demonstrated their resolve to resume their authority. The President did not, perhaps could not, see the change. It is always easier to assume authority than to relinquish it. He declined to seek the counsel of the Senate in negotiating the Treaty of Peace or to ask their consent when it had been negotiated. In this there is nothing which might not have been expected. For the President has always held what has been well called the Consular theory of government. In 1908 he published a series of lectures on "The Constitutional Government of the United States." In these lectures he condemned the House of Representatives for "making itself an active part of the Government and falling into the silence of an effective, businesslike board of directors," because by doing so "it has forfeited the much higher office of gathering the common counsel of the Nation and wielding the tremendous, the governing and sovereign, power of criticism." "Self-reliant men," he said, "will regard their cabinets as executive councils; men less self-reliant or more prudent will regard them as also political councils." In foreign affairs the President's control is "very absolute." "The President cannot conclude a treaty with a foreign Power without the consent of the Senate, but he may guide every step of diplomacy, and to guide diplomacy is to determine what treaties must be made, if the faith and prestige of the government are to be maintained. He need disclose no step of negotiation until it is complete, and when in any critical matter it is completed the government is virtually committed."

We do not believe that Mr. Wilson thus rightly interprets the Constitution. It provides for a government of distributed powers. We do not believe that he understands the nature of democracy. Democracy involves co-operation between the legislative and the executive, not the submission of either to the other. But the severest critic of the President ought to recognize that he has not changed. His refusal to recognize the right of the Congress to take an effective and active part in the government, his refusal to allow his Cabinet to carry on the government when he was incapacitated by sickness, and his refusal to allow the Senate to take any part in negotiating the Treaty of Peace and framing the League of Nations, were all foreshadowed by his declaration of principles in 1908.

The nomination of Mr. Harding means that the men in Chicago have no faith in those principles and are ready to appeal to the country to repudiate them. They have passed by three men of strong character, positive convictions, dominating personality, and popular support, two of

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whom were without legislative experience, to nominate a man without dominating personality and without popular support, but who has had legislative experience and has proved his capacity to co-operate with other men in the administration of government. They have passed by men fitted to lead in order to select a man fitted to co-operate. If Mr. Harding is elected, we shall have for the next four years a reversal of the precedent set by the last eight years. In place of a government administered by a chief executive held in some restraint by the Congress, we shall have a government administered by a committee of whom the President will be the chief. The President will not be a distinguished figure in either national or international affairs. His speeches will not be received with applause nor will their echoes ring around the world, but we may hope that out of the counsel of many minds democracy may get a wisdom, not as prompt, perhaps not always as great, as might be furnished by a single genius, but more cautious and, if less brilliant, more harmonious. And we may also hope that a spirit of co-operation, compromise, and conciliation in the Capitol of our country may promote a similar spirit throughout the Nation between employer and employed; immigrant and native; Negro and white man; North and South, working together for their common welfare, and between America and her recent allies, working together for the world.

This at least is certain, if the Democratic Convention nominates a man whose character, career, and associates justify the belief that he is heir to the spirit and principles of the Wilson administration, the Nation will have a very clear and a comparatively simple but very fundamental issue presented to it in the election—the issue indicated in our anticipatory editorial on the Republican Convention in The Outlook of last week.

In the nomination of Calvin Coolidge for the Vice-Presidency, the Republican Convention departed from the stupid custom of nominating a Vice-President almost wholly for political and personal considerations. It is true that Hamlin, Lincoln's running mate in his first election, and Theodore Roosevelt, chosen to be McKinley's running mate, were men of Presidential timber; but even Theodore Roosevelt was named for the Vice-Presidency in order that he might be buried. In contrast, Calvin Coolidge was named because he is intrinsically as worthy of the Presidency as the man named for that office. He is not merely a political asset; he is a National figure.

II—THE PLATFORM: AN INTERPRETATION

ALTHOUGH interest at the Chicago Convention was chiefly directed toward the naming of the candidates, more care than probably ever before was given to the preparation of the Republican platform. A special committee had prepared in advance a preliminary draft embodying suggestions from a multitude of sources.

Announcing themselves as devoted to Constitutional guaranties of liberty, and as determined to resist all attempts to weaken Constitutional principles either by international policy (a shaft directed against the unamended League of Nations) or by domestic agitation (a shaft directed against the Reds and their apologists), the Republicans accuse the Democratic party of having been unprepared alike for war and for peace. To unpreparedness for war they attribute the danger to the country which was averted by our Allies at a cost still burdensome to us; and to unpreparedness for peace they attribute the continuance of the Government on a war basis. At various points throughout the platform the Republicans in convention reiterate this criticism and amplify it in severe terms. They rehearse, on the other hand, the "programme of constructive legislation" enacted by the present Republican majority in Congress, in large part nullified by the President's "vindictive vetoes." In this legislation are included the Transportation Act, the act for the merchant marine, the restoration of the telegraph and telephone to private ownership, the reorganization of the Army, the Naval Bill, the oil-leasing and water-power measures, and the Budget Act.

For the benefit of agriculture the Republicans propose certain measures for disseminating information and advice, and, in particular, for ending unnecessary price-fixing and arbitrary reduction of prices of farm products.

Under industrial relations the Republicans recognize the "justice of collective bargaining," and, while not advocating compulsory arbitration in private business, deny the right to strike against the Government and favor the establishment of tribunals to investigate disputes in public utilities, the provisions of the Transportation Act, and in private industries better facilities for mediation, conciliation, and arbitration, with full publicity.

As to taxation, finance, and public expenditure, the Republicans commend Congress for reducing the executive estimates by almost three billion dollars, pledge themselves to readjustment to a peace-time basis and to rigid economy (in particular to an executive budget), advocate the simplification of taxation and specifically of the form of income tax return, attribute the high cost of living primarily to the expansion of our currency and credit, and, while declining to make vain promises or offer quack remedies, pledge themselves to attack the high cost of living by avoiding further inflation, by promoting deflation, by encouraging production, by exercising public economy, by stimulating private thrift, and by revising the war taxes. They condemn the Democrats for failure to enforce anti-profiteering laws.

Definitely opposing either Government ownership and operation or employee ownership of the railways, the Republicans advocate a fair return on railway property, and good wages, good conditions of work, and constant employment for railway employees.

After planks on waterways, regulation of industry and commerce (specifically the improvement of the Federal Trade Commission), protection (very brief and general), the merchant marine, public roads, and conservation, the Republicans deal with the problem of the alien. They would improve the physical and mental tests for the immigrant, apply inspection as near the source of immigration as possible, and require every alien to register annually until naturalized; they would improve the naturalization laws, and specifically the independent naturalization of women (adding that "an American woman should not lose her citizenship by marriage to an alien resident in the United States"); they demand the right of citizens to free speech, free press, and free assembly, and (as a shaft at the Republican Assembly of New York in expelling Socialist members) "the no less sacred right of the qualified voter to be represented by his duly chosen representatives," denying, however, the right of any man to advocate resistance to law or violent overthrow of the Government; they assert the right to deport undesirable aliens, but to be exercised only after a hearing by an administrative tribunal.

The Republicans condemn lynching, favor reclamation, advocate in general terms liberal legislation for the service men, uphold the enforcement of the Civil Service laws, approve the recent law for the benefit of Government workers, specifically for the increase in pay for postal employees, express the hope that women will have the suffrage in time for this year's election, urge measures of social and industrial justice, and, while not mentioning universal military service, advocate a thorough system of physical education for all children up to the age of nineteen.

The Republicans commit themselves to the child labor law, demand laws for the improvement of the conditions of women in industry, and advocate the study of the housing question.

They urge education for foreigners in Hawaii and the rehabilitation of the Hawaiian race.

Condemning the Administration's foreign policy as uncertain and humiliating, the Republicans favor a liberal foreign policy in general terms. Specifically they condemn the "policy of wordy, futile, written protests against the acts of Mexican officials," and declare that we should recognize no government in Mexico unless it be able to guarantee the safety

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in the future for American citizens and reparation for wrong in the past.

The Republicans condemn the proposal of a mandate for Armenia, while expressing sympathy for the Armenians.

With regard to the Treaty of Versailles and specifically the Covenant of the League of Nations, the Republicans declare that

> The Republican party stands for agreement among the nations to preserve the peace of the world. We believe that such an international association must be based upon international justice and must provide methods which shall maintain the rule of public right by the development of law and the decision of impartial courts, and which shall secure instant and general international conference whenever peace shall be threatened by political action, so that the nations pledged to do and insist upon what is just and fair may exercise their influence and power for the prevention of war.

Condemning the League of Nations Covenant (as containing "stipulations not only intolerable for an independent people, but certain to produce the injustice, hostility, and controversy among nations which it proposed to prevent," and as repudiating "the time-honored policies in favor of peace declared by Washington and Jefferson and Monroe and pursued by all American administrations for more than a century"), and commending the Senators for voting in accordance with their consciences and their oaths for reservations in opposition to the demands of the President for an unmodified treaty, the Republicans commit themselves for the future as follows:

> We pledge the coming Republican administration to such agreement with the other nations of the world as shall meet the full duty of America to civilization and humanity in accordance with American ideals and without surrendering the right of the American people to exercise its judgment and its power in favor of justice and peace.

The issue as thus presented is not between international co-operation and national aloofness, but international co-operation on a political basis and international co-operation on a basis of law.

Though not free from buncombe, the diction of this platform is an improvement upon the usual platform phraseology. It is longer than need be; it is to be remembered, however, that a platform is prepared to be used in all sorts of ways by party workers, and not only as a whole but in bits.

Judged as it ought to be by other political platforms and not by the ideal of the individual reader, this announcement of Republican doctrine is an advance upon the party declarations to which the country has been accustomed.

III—WARREN G. HARDING: A SKETCH

SOME six years ago Warren G. Harding was delayed for several hours at a small railway station in Indiana. Having nothing else to do, he dropped into the village newspaper office and inquired for the editor. The editor was not in.

"Well," said Harding, as the New York "Sun" tells the story, "I'll go out into the composing-room and talk to the foreman."

"Want to hire a man?" he asked the foreman.

"We can use another linotype operator," the foreman answered. "Can you run the machine?"

"Try me," replied Harding.

He seated himself at a linotype machine and ran off a galley of type in a short time. The foreman looked over the proof and said, "All right; when do you want to go to work? I'll talk to the proprietor about it."

"You write me. I'll be at home next Monday." And Harding handed his card to the foreman, who next day handed the card to his proprietor, saying: "Get him; he's a mighty good man."

"Yes," was the reply. "He's a mighty good man, but I don't believe we can get him. He's got a better job. He's a United States Senator from Ohio."

Before Harding had got through his schooling he had learned how to "stick" type and had even been able to work the linotype machine. He had begun at the bottom of the newspaper business. He had served as printer's devil, typesetter, pressman, job printer, advertising man, reporter, circulation manager, business manager, editor, and publisher. He had come to this because he wanted to get enough money to put himself through college, and after he got out of college went on in the same profession. He got hold of the "Star," a small and unpretentious newspaper which was bought at a bargain at sheriff's sale in Marion, Ohio. He still controls the paper. From a rickety concern it now carries its own leased wire service, has electric presses, a battery of eight linotype machines, and more than fifty employees on its pay-roll. And what is more, the paper has never had a strike or even the menace of one.

Our list of Presidents of the United States has consisted of lawyers, public officials, soldiers, planters, and teachers. If Mr. Harding is elected President, he will be the first journalist to enter the White House.

Fifty-five years ago, on a farm at Blooming Grove, Ohio, was born Warren Gamaliel Harding, the eldest of eight children. His father, who is still living, was a physician with a country practice. In his youth Warren Harding lived the life of a farmer boy, attending the village school, and then going to the Ohio Central College at Iberia. To a great extent the lad paid his own way through school and college. He did farm work, he taught, he acted as house and sign painter, but, as we have seen, it was in the village printing shop that he attained his greatest success.

Like his family, he is a Baptist. The family moved to Marion, and Warren Harding married Florence King, the daughter of a well-known resident. Mr. and Mrs. Harding have no children.

In personal appearance Mr. Harding is a striking example of the American man. His bearing is impressive and is accentuated by his great height and his powerful frame. His voice is sonorous, and he has effectiveness of gesture. His manner is gracious and friendly. Indeed, friendliness is an outstanding characteristic. Mr. Christian, the Senator's own secretary, is a Democrat; they have long been next-door neighbors at Marion, and politics does not divide them. Mr. Harding owes his Senatorship to a decisive defeat of the late Senator Foraker, but, throughout the strenuous political contest and after, he kept Mr. Foraker's friendship.

Mr. Harding's political prominence was originally gained by his editorials in the Marion "Star." In 1889 he was elected State Senator. In 1904 he was elected Lieutenant-Governor on the ticket with Myron T. Herrick. In 1910 Mr. Harding was defeated for the Governorship. In 1912 he sided with the Taft Republicans. In 1916, at the Republican National Convention, he made the "keynote" speech, and was even put forward as a possible dark horse. Mr. Harding has served five years as United States Senator, elected by a majority of 103,000.

His Senatorship covers the period of the World War. The Harding war attitude was shown by two things. First, by the following statement: "If Theodore Roosevelt had been President, the Lusitania would never have been sunk, and we should to-day be living under the guaranties of peace." The second was Mr. Harding's introduction into the Senate of an amendment to a bill which, if adopted, would have authorized Colonel Roosevelt to organize a division of volunteers and lead it to France.

While his Senatorship has not been marked by any decidedly original proposals for legislation, he has had valuable experience, particularly as a member of the Committee on Foreign Relations. In this connection it is interesting to quote three of his opinions concerning the League of Nations. The first quotation is from his speech of April 29, 1919:

> Much of the Covenant is good. The permanent Court of International Justice . . . is strongly appealing. With such a court and with a clearly established code of international law, there could never be a dispute in the future that would not array the conscience-driven nation on the one righteous side. . . .
>
> But either the Covenant involves a surrender of National sovereignty and submits our future destiny to the League, or it is an empty thing, big in name, and will ultimately disappoint all of humanity that hinges on it.

The other incident occurred last August, when Senator Harding was one of

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the visitors at the White House and talked about the League with the President in the presence of stenographers. Mr. Harding is reported as follows:

> Mr. President, if there is nothing more than a moral obligation on the part of any member of the League, what avail Article X and XI?

The President replied:

> Why, Senator, it is surprising that the question should be asked. If we undertake a solemn obligation, we are bound in a most solemn way to carry it out.

To this Senator Harding rejoined:

> If you believe that there is nothing more to this than a moral obligation, any nation will assume a moral obligation on its own account. . . . The point I am trying to get at is, suppose something arises affecting the peace of the world, and the Council takes steps, as provided here, to conserve or preserve, and announces its decision, and every nation in the League takes advantage of the construction that you place upon these articles, and says, "Well, this is only a moral obligation," and we assume that the nation involved does not deserve our participation or protection, the whole amounts to nothing but an expression of the League's Council.

A third opinion is as follows, from Mr. Harding's speech in the Senate last September:

> Only the other day the President called upon the opponents of this League "to put up or shut up." Nobody is going to "shut up." . . . A Senator may be as jealous of his Constitutional duty as the President is jealous of an international concoction. . . . I do not believe that it is going to "break the heart of the world" to make this Covenant right, or, at least, free from perils which would endanger our own independence.

It is not surprising, therefore, that Harding's conclusion was: "I could no more support mild reservations than I could sanction mild Americanism."

IV—CALVIN COOLIDGE: A SNAPSHOT

THE Republican nominee for the Vice-Presidency, Governor Coolidge, of Massachusetts, was born on a small farm near a little Vermont village on July 4, 1872. He is a graduate of Amherst College, and studied law in an office in Northampton, Massachusetts, which thriving and beautiful New England town, the seat of Smith College for women, has been his home for about twenty-five years.

He is a man of few words, great simplicity of life, and of marked rectitude of character. The steps of his political career have been the following: Member of the Northampton City Council; City Solicitor; Representative in the Massachusetts Legislature; Mayor of Northampton; Senator in the Massachusetts Legislature; Lieutenant-Governor; and finally Governor.

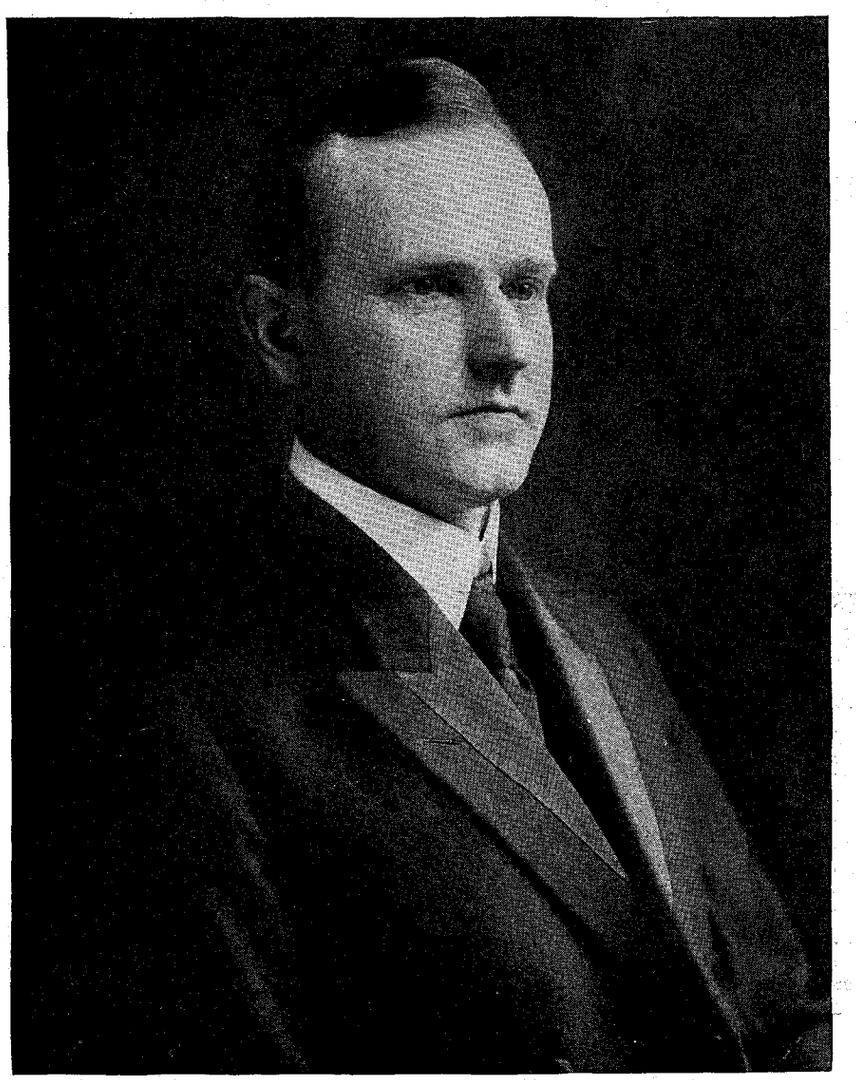
In November of last year Mr. Coolidge ran for re-election as Governor on the issue raised by the Boston police strike. His victory was unprecedented in Massachusetts political history and aroused National attention. An interesting personal sketch of Governor Coolidge by Bruce Barton was published in The Outlook of April 28 last, and his political principles will be found set forth in a volume published less than a year ago containing his speeches and messages and

CALVIN COOLIDGE'S POLITICAL CREED

From his address to the State Senate of Massachusetts on being elected its President, January 7, 1914.

Do the day's work. If it be to protect the rights of the weak, whoever objects, do it. If it be to help a powerful corporation better to serve the people, whatever the opposition, do that. Expect to be called a stand-patter, but don't be a stand-patter. Expect to be called a demagogue, but don't be a demagogue. Don't hesitate to be as revolutionary as science. Don't hesitate to be as reactionary as the multiplication table. Don't expect to build up the weak by pulling down the strong. Don't hurry to legislate. Give administration a chance to catch up with legislation. . . .

Statutes must appeal to more than material welfare. Wages won't satisfy, be they never so large. Nor houses, nor lands, nor coupons, though they fall thick as the leaves of autumn. Man has a spiritual nature. Touch it, and it must respond as the magnet responds to the pole. To that, not to selfishness, let the laws of the Commonwealth appeal. Recognize the immortal worth and dignity of man. Let the laws of Massachusetts proclaim to her humblest citizen performing the most menial task the recognition of his manhood, the recognition that all men are peers, the humblest with the most exalted, the recognition that all work is glorified. Such is the path to equality before the law. Such is the foundation of liberty under the law. Such is the sublime revelation of man's relation to man—Democracy.



CALVIN COOLIDGE, THE REPUBLICAN CANDIDATE FOR THE VICE-PRESIDENCY

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entitled "Have Faith in Massachusetts." One quotation from that volume is so striking either as a creed or as a political platform that we print it on the preceding page in a form in which it can easily be cut out for preservation.

V—HOW IT STRIKES THE COUNTRY: A POLL OF THE PRESS

"FIRST impressions of the ticket nominated at Chicago," says the St. Paul "Pioneer Press" (Rep.), "are that it is hind part before."

A man "of the McKinley type" has been named for the Presidency, remarks the St. Louis "Globe-Democrat" (Rep.), "having much the same sane and balanced judgment, the same soberness of demeanor, the same conservatism of speech." The Providence "Tribune" (Ind. Rep.) thus agrees: "He is much of the staid, plodding, respectable, and always dependable type of McKinley . . . but as a forward-looking man . . . Mr. Harding is own brother to Lot's wife."

"He is a typical wheel-horse of the party," affirms the Baltimore "Sun" (Dem.). "If he shall be elected," adds the St. Paul "News" (Ind.), "we may expect the amiability of Taft rather than the strenuosity of Roosevelt."

Then comes this thrust from the New York "Times" (Ind. Dem.):

> "Government of the Senate, by the Senate, and for the Senate." That motto and intent could hardly be written plainer upon the nomination of Harding. He was all along the secret and favorite choice of the Senatorial oligarchy that finally proved to be in control of the Chicago Convention. Its preference for Harding was suspected from the first announcing of his candidacy; now it is established.

The "Times" also says:

> The nomination of Harding, for whose counterpart we must go back to Franklin Pierce if we would seek a President who measures down to his political stature, is the fine and perfect flower of the cowardice and imbecility of the Senatorial cabal that charged itself with the management of the Republican Convention. . . . Rejecting Leonard Wood, probably the strongest candidate with the people the party could have chosen, because they knew he would never be dictated to by them, they favored Governor Lowden until Borah served upon them his notice of a veto of that nomination. Borah was commanding and truculent because he knew that he had to deal with a group of white-livered and incompetent politicians. If Republican leadership had not fallen into the hands of pygmies, the chief men at Chicago would have told Borah to bolt and be hanged, just as upon the issue of the League they would have defied Johnson to do his worst. But they ran like a frightened flock, surrendered everything.

Another metropolitan journal, the "World" (Dem.), has similar comment:

> A more respectable figurehead than Warren G. Harding has never been nominated for President of the United States by either party. . . .
>
> Senator Harding is . . . an Ohio country politician with the mind of an Ohio country politician, and he sees the world through the eyes of the Ohio country politician. Being weak and colorless and mediocre, he appealed powerfully to the managing politicians who control the Republican organization, most of whom are Senators themselves. They know Harding and they know he will be a faithful agent of the organization. They have worked with him, and they can prove that he never had an original idea or entertained a thought that was outside the routine of a well-trained and well-disciplined party servant. . . .
>
> Of all the candidates whose names were presented to the Chicago Convention or who were within the range of the Convention's choice, Harding, with the exception of Johnson and Poindexter, fell the furthest short of measuring up to the requirements of a President in this critical time. Lowden and Wood were eliminated, . . . but with Hoover and Hughes and Taft and Knox and even Coolidge and Sproul and Butler to select from, what more pitiful choice could have been made?

Senator Harding is a candidate, in the opinion of the Rochester "Herald" (Ind. Dem.), "whose candidacy . . . means nothing except as meaning is supplied . . . by the Old Guard." In like manner the Boston "Globe" declares:

> Once more the Old Guard has got what it wanted. It now remains to be seen whether the voters will want what they have got.

A final fling is taken by the Albany "Argus" (Dem.):

> In a period of our National life when it is vital to the country that the Presidency be held by a man of dominating intellect, of compelling experience, of indomitable will, the Republicans have nominated an amiable nonentity.

So much for very adverse criticism and some not so adverse. Favorable criticism is found of course in orthodox Republican papers. And yet, even in the best known of them, the New York "Tribune," we find a note of sorrow, echoed far and wide:

> Republics are still ungrateful. Leonard Wood, who is one of the great men of America and destined to live in history, has been defeated for a Presidential nomination by a group of politicians just as Theodore Roosevelt was four years ago, and more recently Clemenceau was denied the Presidency of France. We had hoped that a man of undoubted courage, vision, and executive ability would be chosen, but we have instead Warren Gamaliel Harding, one of the Senate group which controlled the Convention. It would be hypocritical for The Tribune to pretend that it is satisfied with this result. . . .

But—and a big But:

> The best man they can possibly pick, running on a Democratic platform, would, if elected, give the country an administration so inferior to what we can count upon from the Republicans that there should be no hesitation in choosing between them.
>
> The Tribune, therefore, purposes to give its hearty support to the Republican candidates.

While Senator Harding has not "the magnetic qualities that attract a devoted following, as the Syracuse "Post-Standard" (Ind.) says, "he wins the liking of men easily and makes no enemies." If "he is not an initiator of policies, he is counselor with his fellows." In this respect, remarks the New Haven "Journal-Courier" (Ind.), "with the promise in the foreground that he would be more likely to consult than dictate, there will be many, we suspect, who will welcome this opportunity to escape from the long period of too much personal government."

"He is neither dictatorial nor sensational," affirms the Wilmington (Del.) "News" (Ind.). "He is a typical American in the best sense of the word. . . . He has the record as that of a man of vastly more than ordinary ability. He has a level head."

Says the Portland "Oregonian" (Rep.): "Senator Harding's record in the Senate shows him to be a good exponent of the great body of Republicans."

The Providence "Journal" (Ind.) declares: "He is a clean and upstanding American, safe and loyal, and his great experience in legislative matters has given him a splendid knowledge of our public affairs." "He will bring to the White House the qualities that make for sobriety, sanity, and safety," asserts the Philadelphia "Press" (Rep.), to which the following from the Baltimore "American" (Rep.) may be added:

> Voters can be sure that Mr. Harding is right in his view of the domestic needs of the Nation, right in his views as to the functions of the Executive, right in his ideas of the balance, coordination of the respective departments of the Government, right in his sense of the Nation's international responsibilities, right in regard to all things that are now of such importance in the vista of the four years in which there shall be a new Executive in the White House.

In the opinion of the Springfield, Massachusetts, "Union" (Rep.), Senator Harding's nomination "came finally as the logical if not the inevitable result," for, in the words of the Hartford "Courant" (Rep.), "in him was recognized an able and worthy leader who could command the united support of his party."

From its old-time position as a "rock-ribbed" Republican State, Ohio has swung strongly to the Democratic side, as the Presidential elections of 1912 and 1916 show. Hence, the New York "Sun" (Ind.) declares,

> Apart from the merits of Senator Harding, he was the best selection of the

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Convention for the reason that he should be able to redeem Ohio to the Republican party.

Examined with regard to both strategy and the qualifications of the candidate, the Republican National Convention has shown clear thinking and sound acting.

Even in the opinion of such an independent Democratic paper as the Boston "Post," "the nomination of Senator Harding and Governor Coolidge puts into the field of National politics a strong ticket and one most creditable to the discernment and good sense of the gathering" at Chicago; another independent Democratic paper, the Cincinnati "Enquirer," pays this tribute to the Republican Presidential nominee: "Senator Harding is eminently fitted for the high place to which he is called and which he will honor if elected."

VI—CONSERVATIVE AMERICA IN CONVENTION ASSEMBLED

SPECIAL CORRESPONDENCE FROM THE REPUBLICAN CONVENTION

BY FREDERICK M. DAVENPORT

IT'S a boy, but that is all we know as we go to press. As I begin to write on Saturday morning of Convention week the cartoon of the diminutive elephant as a stork flying over the roof of the Coliseum with its precious but unnamed prize meets my eye. As the reader now knows, who the Presidential candidate would be remained uncertain until the last maneuver, but there was very little doubt from the beginning about the kind of folks from all over America who furnished the leadership and sat in the delegates' seats and crowded the galleries and thronged the city outside. They were mostly of one sort. The rank and file of the Convention was eminently conservative in temper, but from their point of view anxious to do what is best for the country. When the previously undisclosed mandate of the 2 A.M. conference of leaders on Saturday morning worked out into action toward evening of the same day and Harding was nominated, there was no essential violation of the principle of self-determination. From the Convention's own point of view, Harding was an entirely natural choice, and more or less of an inevitable choice.

The difference between this Convention and those of 1912 and 1916 is marked. Although the predatory politician and predatory interests are here in force, they have nothing like the weight they had in 1912; and the factional hostility between the progressive and the conservative wings, while still existent, is nothing like so rancorous as in 1916. Substantially, this is an uncontrolled Convention. Old Guardsmen are slowly passing away. Behold, all Guardsmen are soon to become new. The Republican party is heading toward the light. There is intense friction among candidates and some of their sponsors; there is little hot-headed opposition among the delegates. State delegations that are splitting three ways in the matter of candidates display an entire unity of spirit and good fellowship among themselves.

Take California. Nothing could have been more hateful than the California spirit of 1916. It prevented a Republican victory. And California is very sensitive about the universal condemnation which that great State four years ago received from the country. No chances are being taken this year. Crocker, of San Francisco, who represented anti-Johnson hatred to a degree in 1916, rides with Johnson from the railway station to the hotel in Chicago, trailed by the cheering thousands. Crocker will be the last man in the California delegation to leave Johnson, even after the nomination of Johnson is an assured impossibility. One night when the fray was hottest a band and an orator for Harding came just at dinner-time into the lobby of the Blackstone Hotel, and the crowd and the orator were cheering for Harding and other candidates, but nobody had mentioned the man from the Pacific Coast. Suddenly from the crowd rang out the voice of Crocker, of San Francisco—"Hold on, there; I am for Johnson. Three cheers for Johnson!" How much is deeply heartfelt and how much is strategically felt I have no right to judge, but it is good party and National sense.

The delegates are not fully conscious that they are free. Their timidity and uncertainty upon their practical release from traditional serfdom have been amusing. One of the younger Old Guardsmen friends of mine who had felt the chains fall from his own hands and feet was approached by a colleague, who whispered to him, "I am for Wood for President, but don't say anything to anybody about it." "Who is it that you don't want to know about it?" said my friend. After a moment's thought, the man who had approached him said, as he straightened up, "Why, nobody." And then my friend jollied him into a fuller consciousness. "Man," he said, "you are free. You don't have to be afraid of anybody in this Convention." But large numbers of them will go away from here before they fully realize it. They are like men who have long been moving under the lock-step in prison. Put them in a parade outside and they instinctively begin walking close up to the next man!

The normal desire on the part of the Convention to do what the American people would like to have done is clearly shown by the practically unanimous conclusion with respect to the League and Treaty plank in the platform. The controversy in this matter has raged around the proposal to ratify the President's plan with meticulous degrees of reservation. That was the first step of criticism away from the Wilson leadership, but I am satisfied that it does not represent what is now deepest in the thought of America. The majority of the American people are no longer making meticulous distinctions on this issue. They are against what Wilson did, they are against the political tribunal, they are against entangling America with Europe and Asia. They would like to start afresh, establishing friendly economic and judicial association with other nations, standing ready to do their full international duty again in any particular crisis after due deliberation; but, above all things, desiring to safeguard the National position and rights of America.

The great bulk of the delegates to this Convention brought this purely American purpose with them. In the fight which Johnson made in his own strong and extreme fashion he was not radical. What he actually brought to the surface was the naturally conservative temper of the American people on the issue. This was clear in the attitude of the great perspiring masses of visitors who were in Chicago on the trail of the delegates. I spent one evening following around the fine Columbus Glee Club as they sang to the enormous audiences everywhere. "America First!" was the burden of their song. And the response was instant and overwhelming.

Oh, Wilson went over the ocean,
Yes, Wilson went over the sea.
It seems he conceived a big notion
That boss of the world he would be.

He hobnobbed with English and Frenchmen,
Italians and Greeks and Chinese,
But he made no great hit with the trenchmen
Who fought while he talked at his ease.

He says that our Lodge is pro-German
Because he won't sign on the line.
He treated them [the Senate] worse than the vermin
That still live just over the Rhine.

His henchmen took hold of the railways.
They ran them, yes, into the ground;
They've wrecked everything but the roadway,
And they've left most of that lying around.

And then the chorus, in which thousands joined:

Wake up, wake up, I attend
To your work in America! I
Wake up, wake up, your job's
In your own U. S. A!

Of course it is a matter of emphasis. But it seems to me, after trying to catch

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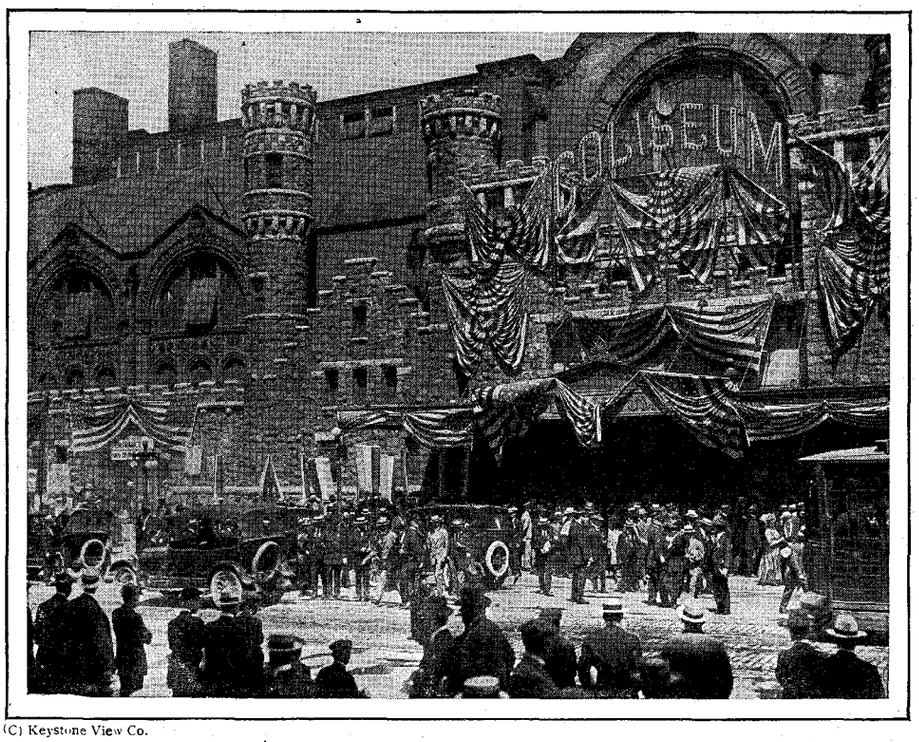

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WHERE THE REPUBLICAN CONVENTION WAS HELD—OUTSIDE THE COLISEUM IN CHICAGO

the temper of the country at this Convention, that the Republicans have all the best of it in interpreting the mind of the great majority of the plain people of America. As for the League and the Treaty, the people distrust them both. They want a new start and a new deal. And it is not selfishness either. Their desire for aloofness is at heart a desire to protect their moral leadership and their immeasurable power for permanent good in international affairs.

You have got to give to the so-called Senate irreconcilables like Brandegee and Borah, and the Johnson candidacy, credit, not so much for the final harmonization of sentiment among the Republicans of the country, which has come naturally through the gathering of the Convention, but for arousing the consciousness of all by vigorous and radical presentment, so that a sound National opinion emerges. And you must give credit to the quiet foresight of the gifted National Chairman, Will Hays, who obtained a month ago from Elihu Root, before Mr. Root sailed for Europe to assist in the re-establishing of the judicial machinery of internationalism, a statement of conciliation which I am informed went into the platform "without the dotting of an i or the crossing of a t."

When the vast crowds went wild over the soulful sentiment of "America First!" the Columbus Glee Club, evidently having in mind the chaotic and deplorable condition of Europe, sang playfully, with great gusto, this encore:

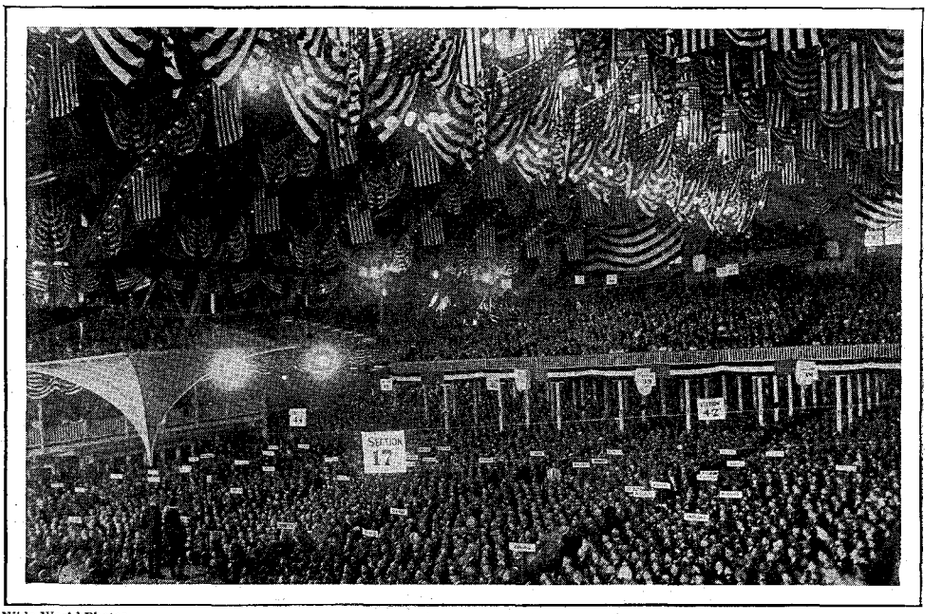
> The bells of hell go ting-a-ling-a-ling for *you*, but not for *me*.

I am confident that the Republicans have interpreted in this plank in their platform the deep-down feeling of America, and that this is to be the rock-bottom issue of the campaign.

Among the issues next in importance to the League and the Treaty, the Convention was vitally concerned with and seemed to sense the sanity of the plank on industrial relations. No ordinary convention committee ever produced that outgiving, with its conservative but fine social and economic distinction between the general right to strike and bargain collectively and the lack of right to strike against the Government or upon public utilities. But full force and consideration are given to the need of safeguarding the employees of the Government by impartial tribunal, and of safeguarding the employees of public utilities by tribunals of investigation and public information, having moral, but not legal, binding power. This provision and many other good ones in the Republican platform are the outgrowth of the foresight of the aforesaid National Chairman, Will Hays, who long ago began ample preparation for the platform ordeal.

This Convention has a perfectly unholy horror of the Wilson Administration and of Government ownership and operation. A delegate from Wisconsin named Gross read a solitaire minority report from the Committee on Resolutions, most of which was too strong meat for the Convention; but when Gross got to the point where he called upon the Federal Government to take over and run the stock-yards of the country, a howl of perfectly fanatical derision went up on all sides. A big red-necked fellow not far from me threw his head back in the attitude of an enraged animal and shouted over the bedlam of confusion: "Socialist, Anarchist, Bolshevist—eliminate him, Mr. Lodge!" I guess he was right about it, at that. Not only was the presentation of the delegate from Wisconsin raspingly La Follettian in its manner and spirit, but the experience of the country with Government operation on a large scale during the war has been so depressing that I am quite sure the National reaction would not now be very different from that of the fierce red-necked opponent who pierced the heat-laden air of the Coliseum with his fanatic cry.

The Mexican plank is rather long and involved, but pleased the Convention as squarely taking issue with the inert and indecisive diplomacy of Wilson. New leaders have had a hand in a number of the new declarations, and the mark of the new era is over the whole platform. Old Roosevelt lieutenants, like United States Senator Medill McCormick, of Illinois, and William Allen White, of Kansas, have been in at the killing of the old-time platitudes. Medill McCormick's official place has made him very effective on the inside of the works generally. Several terrible amateurs are slowly edging out the old professionals. Four years from now the old professionals will be almost altogether gone. A very cautious protective tariff plank of not above seventy words; think of that in a Republican



Wide World Photos

THE OPENING OF THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION IN THE COLISEUM

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platform! And no bonus or pension provisions! And no more Palmer-Sweet repression! "We demand that every American citizen shall enjoy the ancient Constitutional right of free speech, free press, and free assembly, and the no less sacred right of the qualified voter to be represented by those duly chosen; but no man may advocate resistance to the law and no man may advocate the violent overthrow of the Government."

After provision had been made by the Sub-Committee and passed by the Convention for the opening of trade relations with all countries with which we are at peace—which patently meant Soviet Russia also—that vehement liberal, William Allen White, of Kansas, who was on the Committee, threw up his hand with the declaration:

> Probably in the next Soviet Ark that goes sailing down the harbor we shall see the Sub-Committee of the Committee on Resolutions sailing away to the Isle of Yap with Reed Smoot and Jim Watson and Bill Borah standing in tears on deck, clanking their chains and regretting the day when they issued such a revolutionary document as the Republican platform which began by standing by the Eighteenth Amendment and ended in a promise of Federal legislation for housing.

The normal spirit of the Convention and the platform which arose out of the Convention were probably as liberal as the great bulk of the Republican party in the country will stand for in these reasonably cautious times of combined uncertainty and unrest.

On the opening day, that fine type of what is best in Massachusetts, Henry Cabot Lodge, made some waspish thrusts at the President, and seemed to seek to consign both McAdoo and Hoover to the limbo of National impossibles when he said: "Mr. Wilson and his dynasty, his heirs and assigns, or anybody that is his, anybody who with bent knee has served his purposes, must be driven from all control, from all influence upon the Government of the United States."

We still have McAdoo to reckon with at San Francisco and perhaps as a towering fighting figure during the campaign, although it looks to me like Cox, of Ohio, if the Democrats have their wisdom teeth cut. Hoover found nowhere to lay his head at Chicago. He didn't belong to "our guild" and he affronted the Republican regular spirit throughout the Nation when he asked for a Democratic Congress in 1918; at least that was the way the Convention reasoned.

Neither Senator Lodge nor any one else could go too far in attacking the President to suit the delegates; or to suit some representative Democrats who were looking in on the Convention. At the close of the whole proceeding, one of the keenest of these ventured rather frankly and brutally the belief that, if the President would resign or in any way pass out of the vision of the country before election, the Democrats would have a chance to sweep the Nation with Cox, of Ohio, and Ambassador Davis as the ticket! "When Wilson went to Europe," said Mr. Depew, "the politicians and diplomats said to him, 'What do you want?' and he replied, 'I want a League of Nations, a heaven on earth, of which I shall be the Recording Angel;'" and the roar of satisfied derision from the Convention was universal. It is, at least in the short perspective of the present, one of the great tragedies of American history, but it is nevertheless perfectly evident, that the President must look, if anywhere, a considerable distance into the future for vindication. He has it not now in the temper of his countrymen.

Well, I have been down to the Convention again, and have seen the ticket

Paul Thompson
MRS. DOUGLAS ROBINSON (MR. ROOSEVELT'S SISTER)
Mrs. Robinson seconded the nomination of General Wood

nominated. Harding and Coolidge! Who would have guessed it? And yet I believe it represents quite exactly the economic conservatism and "law and order" temper of the Convention, and perhaps the underlying temper of the country. This latter remains to be seen. In the evening I sat in for a little while with two of the most astute politicians in the United States. They were impressively of the elder statesmen type. One of them was uneasy and the other was not. One of them raised the question if Harding were not too conservative and unconstructive for the period immediately before us. The other had no fears. "Moral issues and idealisms are going to wait a while," he said. "The country has had its fill of them. Just now it doesn't care a rap about these things compared with its desire to get industry back on a sound basis and to have economic livelihood made more secure. And the country, including large numbers of conservative Democrats, is going to take to Harding and the Republican policies like a duck to water." So there you are. One reads in the newspapers and magazines a great deal about radical America. This Convention believes that America is fast growing conservative, and for the time being has put its purely moral idealisms on the shelf.

It all depends upon what that irresistibly dynamic Roosevelt psychology in the American electorate decides to do. Roosevelt permanently broke the party habit of the Republicans of the Nation. The difference between a personal and a party habit is that the former rather easily regains its equilibrium, but the latter never does. Once you break from the dead level of National party habit, the great mass never gets safely back into it again. Certainly this Convention is the nadir of that tremendous gathering of the idealism of America which met in Chicago in August of 1912 and packed this same Coliseum with representative men and women from every corner of the Nation, who sang, so that the thunder of it was heard in every hamlet of the United States:

> In thee we hail a leader just,
> In thee repose a sacred trust
> To crush the powers of greed and lust,
> Roosevelt, O Roosevelt!
>
> Thou wilt not yield corruption's toll,
> Roosevelt, O Roosevelt!
> Thou wilt not crook to its control,
> Roosevelt, O Roosevelt!
> So let the waves of malice roll,
> They cannot swerve thy fearless soul,
> They cannot keep thee from the goal,
> Roosevelt, O Roosevelt!

If this Roosevelt psychology takes the view of my second elder statesman referred to above, and hits the conservative trail for this campaign, all will go well with the Republicans.

I suppose I ought to describe the "color" of the Convention. It did not have much, and for several days not any, except the wonderfully arranged American flags which gloriously graced every steel girder and rafter of the mighty building. It certainly was hard to get that crowd to sing well. The powerful-lunged chorus leader from Massachusetts tried his best with his "Now everybody bring out the *yah* in "Glory, glory, hallelu-*yah!*" And everybody tried, and it was pretty good, but it did not last. Things were too serious or uncertain or hot or something. Of course conservatives are not enthusiasts, anyway. Perhaps that was it. But towards the end, just let everybody remember that the crowds and the steaming heat and the blaring bands and the marching standards and the howling dervishes were all there, as at every other Convention that you ever attended or ever read about. The Convention leopard will never change its characteristic spots.

The first and seconding speeches of nomination were many in number but few in real quality. The old Blaine-Conkling days of oratorical orgy are the faintest possible memory. Former Governor Willis, of Ohio, when he offered the name of Harding, in voice and eloquence suggested best the recollection of the olden time. Two of the women speakers had it all over most of the men, incomparably the finest being the gem of a speech by Theodore Roosevelt's sister,

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Mrs. Robinson, in presenting Leonard Wood. Senator Lodge said afterward that it was the only convention speech he ever heard which might have changed votes. There was a great wave of applause for "Teddy's sister," and her voice rang clear and strong through the great structure as she began: "I can voice the feelings of thousands of American mothers when I say that the foresight of Leonard Wood made of their sons fighting machines instead of cannon fodder." And by and by she said: "No one need tell me that had Leonard Wood or Theodore Roosevelt been in the White House they would have delayed in playing the tune by which the Germans would have marched back through Belgium. We want not the man who waits for the psychological moment; we want the man who makes the psychological moment."

Johnson, of California, would not be named by this Convention if he were sponsored by St. Peter or the Angel Gabriel, but his spokesman, Wheeler, of San Francisco, certainly rubbed lemon on the raw spots just the same.

> "The great middle class of the Nation," said he, "hold the balance of power, and they will not stand for a reactionary Administration. It may be that our near-officer class, the captains of industry, the disbursing officials of the primary army, the colonels of the commissary who advance the sinews of war, would prefer a military leader. But I am here to say for the rank and file of the Republican party that 'the plain Yanks who fill the ranks that have the votes' are calling for the son of California."

And again in the same daring raucous tenor:

> My fellow-Americans, the hour has struck, the time has come to scourge the last of the bosses from this great temple of the Republican party. Men of the South, if it be true that there are among you hand-picked delegates who have forgotten the obligation that they, of all men, owe to the flag of freedom; men of the North, if it be true that there are in your ranks political slaves who are being lashed into line by the blacksnake of some party Legree, tell them that they hold within themselves the power to strike the shackles from their own limbs.

Given the candidacy personnel which the "regular" conservative mind of the Convention could bring itself to consider, given the existing factors in the problem of nominees, and there was no natural solution except Harding. If Penrose and the rest of the group of Senatorial conferees saw it months ago, as has been intimated, then they displayed remarkable prescience. And, by the way, that stirring and thought-provoking Columbus Glee Club was always singing about Harding, wasn't it? Maybe Penrose and the Senatorial group were tempting us thitherward all the time, after all! I am satisfied that General Wood could not have gone over, in any event. There were too many errors of management and too much friction developed along the road. And the money scandal prevented Lowden. Nobody charged him with complicity, but he had politically wayward agents. Those Missouri delegates with $2,500 apiece in the bank which they did not use but which was to be returned if Lowden were nominated—or was it if he was not nominated?—they did the business. And the Rev. Mr. Venable, colored, who took $300 for expenses to visit the colored convention and to go up and see the Big Chief at Springfield—he had a part in it too. Lowden would have done as well as Harding if it were not for these and similar unhappy incidents. But not even the great conservative property interests which hovered near and had much at stake in the outcome of the Convention were willing to take the risk of the outcome of this particular piece of scandalmongering, as it might have been manipulated by the Democrats in the campaign. Neither Johnson nor Hoover fitted the Convention psychology at all or would have if it had remained in session all summer. And so all roads pointed to Ohio and Harding. The conclusion seemed necessary and spontaneous.

Harding is from Ohio, with six Presidents to her credit already, standing next to Virginia. Ohio is very much needed in the Republican column, and is doubtful politically; very much so, if her Governor Cox is nominated for President by the Democrats. Harding has the reputation of human kindliness and makes few enemies. In economics he has reached the benevolent capitalist stage, which is not a bad stage. Above all things, Harding is unquestionably conservative, and therefore is supposed by this Convention to fit far more exactly the temper of the time than Johnson, for example. And still farther, above all things, Harding belongs to the Senatorial group in Washington which is running Republican politics just now. Senatorial cabal, some here call it. I don't. It is the best and only power group which the Republicans have developed in the Nation leading up to this Convention.

What has happened with respect to this nomination and with respect to the fundamental issues of foreign policy promulgated by this Convention is that we practically return to the early days of the Congressional caucus and its influence in National affairs. A strong Senatorial group, made up of men like Brandegee of Connecticut, Penrose of Pennsylvania, Watson of Indiana, Reed Smoot of Utah, Wadsworth of New York, Borah of Idaho, Johnson of California, McCormick of Illinois, and others like them, have been the controlling mentalities in Republican National affairs for some time, and they naturally dominate the Convention, first in determining its policy and second in determining its candidate. They are the naturally strong men of the party in this period, and what they think determines what goes. And they have certainly put their own kind on guard. The Presidential candidate is a Senator; the temporary and permanent Chairman of the Platform Committee is a Senator; the Blackstone Conferees in Room 404 on the hot, murky dawn of Saturday morning were mostly Senators, and so on and so on. Well, power usually goes in this world to those who know what they want and who are willing to fight for it. The "irreconcilable" element in the Senatorial group made the foreign policy of the platform, and the rest of them made the candidate, and they did no violence to the convictions of the Convention either.

Harding and Coolidge! Coolidge was the certain, surely spontaneous phenomenon of the Convention. Coolidge will add great middle-class strength to the ticket throughout the Nation. He will be generally regarded by the country, I think, as a pre-eminently safe man for the emergency of the decease of the President, which makes me think of a remark which a very close friend of Coolidge made to me. He said: "If Cal Coolidge were nominated for the Vice-Presidency, I wouldn't take the Presidency for a hundred million dollars." And I said, "Why?" and he said, "I would die in a little while. Coolidge has always been so lucky politically. Everything comes along to him in a most uncanny and mysterious way. Excuse me from the Presidency with him in the vice-regal chair."

In spite of its conservatism, this would have been Roosevelt's Convention if he had lived. His spirit hovered about, as it was. The impartial and high-minded consideration given the great number of contests before the National Committee, and the moral revulsion against the doings of the agents of candidates in Missouri and the South—the whole Convention looked upon this in a far different light than in 1912, when anything went short of murder. And in this and all other matters of moral integrity in America the Roosevelt influence is just beginning to wax and not wane.

Would this Convention have accepted Roosevelt for President if he had been alive? Yes, gratefully, on bended knee. The most stupid reactionary has learned at last that Roosevelt was the great conservative. If doubt and fear had listened to him ten years ago, the conservative property interests of America would have been saved billions of wasted wealth and the world a major part of its recent long agony. All Roosevelt was after was the social, economic, and moral preparation of his beloved country against the class cleavage which he foresaw was about to overspread the world, and which has now nearly overspread the world.

The Convention was conservative, believing that America is conservative. Harding is conservative, Roosevelt was the *great* conservative. What Chicago lacked was Roosevelt. In him conservatism became matchless power and progress for America. Some day, but not yet, a Republican National Convention will, as one voice, call in spirit to that great leader, as his followers called in 1912:

> Come to thine own heroic throng,
> That stalks with liberty along,
> And ring thy dauntless slogan song,
> Roosevelt, O Roosevelt!

Then, and not till then, will Republican conservatism become inspiration.

Chicago, June 12, 1920.

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NIGGER HEABEN

BY LOUISE AYRES GARNETT

I

Ah ain't afeard, Lawd, for to go way down
An' lay in mah straight, hard bed.
De earth am neighborly, bein' black,
An' kindly to mah head.

II

Ah ain't afeard, Lawd, for to lay me down
An' sleep mah las' long sleep,
For de walls o' mah dreams am mostways hung
Wid pichers ah likes to keep.

III

Ah ain't afeard, Lawd, for to dream mah dreams,
Nor afeard o' de years Ah'll take.
Ah's tellin' de troof w'en Ah tells you, Lawd,
Ah's on'y afeard to wake.

IV

Ah ain't afeard, Lawd, Ah ain't afeard, Lawd,
Ah ain't afeard, Lawd, not me!
Ah'll sleep mah sleep an' dream mah dreams
Ef you'll let me wake by Galilee Lake
W'ere de worl' will be happy, jes' as happy as c n be.

V

Ah don't wants to wake in nigger heaben, Lawd,
Settin' in de ver' las' row,
Wid de white folkses actin' de same as here,
Runnin' de whole o' de show,

VI

Sprawlin' in de box office, big as brass,
Takin' mah money wid sco'n,
Givin' me de favor o' climbin' de stairs
Twell Ah wisht Ah hain't ben bo'n.

VII

Listen to me, Lawd, ef you'll be so kin'—
No golden stairs f'r me.
Ah wants mah chanct to walk right in
An' know dat de seats am free.

VIII

Ah ain't afeard, Lawd, Ah ain't afeard, Lawd,
Ah ain't afeard, Lawd, to die.
Ah'll sleep mah sleep an' wake on time
Ef you'll cut out de stairs, jes' pairs upon pairs,
A-climbin' an' a-climbin'
An' a-climbin' an' a-climbin',
A-climbin' 'way up in de sky!

KNOLL PAPERS

BY LYMAN ABBOTT

WANTED — MORE CAPITALISTS

THE remedy for capitalism is—Multiply the capitalists.

Before the reader turns from this article with impatience let him consider the following definitions taken from the Century Dictionary:

> Capital: "All forms of wealth employed as means of further production."
> Capitalism: "The concentration or massing of capital in the hands of a few."
> Capitalist: "One who owns capital."

My thesis, then, is this: The remedy for the concentration of capital in the hands of a few is the distribution of capital among an increased and increasing number of capitalists. The Bolshevik wishes to destroy capitalists, I wish to multiply them. The Bolshevik wishes to carry forward the concentration of capital until it shall all be concentrated in the hands of a single owner—the State, and that State under the control of a single dictator. I wish to destroy concentration of capital by a process of distribution until the workers—brain workers and hand workers—shall as individuals own all the capital; that is, all the means of producing wealth. In this philosophy there is nothing new. The Century Dictionary makes this clear by a quotation from William Stanley Jevons (1835–82): "I wish to see workmen becoming by degrees their own capitalists—sharers in all the profits and all the advantages which capital confers."

In the eighteenth century political power was concentrated in the hands of a few. Political leaders remain; but political aristocracy is being destroyed by distributing the political power among all the people.

In the eighteenth century education was conducted for the purpose of developing an educated class. Educational leaders still remain; but the educational aristocracy has been destroyed by providing for the education of all the people.

In the nineteenth century a capitalistic aristocracy was built up by the concentration of capital in the hands of a few. The remedy for capitalism is such a process of distribution of the products of industry that all the people shall become sharers in the power and the profits of capitalism—that is, in that form of wealth which is produced by industry and is employed in processes of industry.

So long as a few men possess the political power and the many are governed by them there will be a political aristocracy. So long as a few men are educated and the mass is left in ignorance there will be an educational aristocracy. So long as a few own all the tools and implements of industry and the many depend on the use of those tools for pursuing their industry there will be a capitalistic aristocracy. The remedy for political aristocracy is the distribution of political power. The remedy for educational aristocracy is the distribution of intelligence. The remedy for aristocracy of wealth is the distribution of capital.

It is a curious and interesting fact that while the Socialists of various schools are discussing plans for destroying capitalism by destroying the capitalists, life is multiplying the capitalists, distributing the capital, and so gradually destroying capitalism.

In the reign of Henry VIII the richest and best lands of England were largely in possession of the Church; they were confiscated and passed into the hands of the nobility; and now by a process of land taxation they are gradually being broken up into smaller holdings. In France one result of the French Revolution was the breaking up of land monopolies and the distribution of the land among peasant proprietors. In Russia the same process is now taking place, and Bolshevism, which, as defined by Lenine, included the nationalization of all the

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land, is meeting an insuperable obstacle in the passionate desire of the peasant population for peasant ownership. In the United States the Homestead Bill enacted during the Civil War secured the distribution of the agricultural lands of this country among the farmers who cultivated them, and the industrial reconstruction which followed the Civil War brought about a breaking up of the great plantations in the South and their gradual division into small holdings cultivated by the owners. The mines, oil wells, forests, and water powers are still largely private property; but the conservation movement, steadily though slowly growing in strength, is essentially a movement to bring these sources of wealth under the control of the Nation and their use for the Nation's welfare. During the last half-century dividends, which are the rewards paid to capital, have been diminished and wages, which are the rewards paid to labor, have increased; although as yet these revolutionary forces, working secretly but irresistibly, have had little effect on salaries. The provision which has made it almost as easy to deposit savings in a post office as to mail a letter has increased the deposits in the savings banks and promoted in the country the habit of accumulating money for employment in industry; and the prohibition movement has done something and promises to do more to prevent the waste in what is at best a doubtful luxury of money which, saved and rightfully employed, makes its owner a capitalist. Industrial education, which has come into existence during the last half-century, has greatly enhanced the wealth-producing power of the workers. Nature will do our drudgery for us, and the uneducated hand worker has therefore in nature a competitor whose power it is impossible to rival. A man whose only tool is his shovel and whose only intelligence is how to use it cannot well compete with a steam shovel. But nature never does brain work, and industrial education is increasing, to an extent impossible to estimate, the producing power of the laborer. Corporations have been invented and developed. Their powers have been sometimes foolishly and sometimes dishonestly employed. Nevertheless the corporation is a modern contrivance by which a great number of small capitalists can combine their capital, put it into the hands of skilled and intelligent administrators, and share the profits which come from the efficient use of a great mass of money.

When during the war the Secretary of the Treasury desired to secure money for the Nation with which to carry that war on, he appealed not to the bankers—that is, to the few who controlled accumulated capital; but to the people—that is, to the owners of small capital all over the country; and his appeal was not in vain. At the end of the war there were over twenty-two million owners of Liberty Bonds—that is, more capitalists in America than families. The response which the people made to this appeal demonstrated not only the patriotism of the American people, but also the ability of the American people in every walk of life to loan out of their capital some money to be used in the Nation's service. These loans were taken without any considerable diminution of the deposits made in the savings banks, and were accompanied in some cases by a notable increase in these deposits. Christmas clubs were organized in connection with local National banks. The cashier of the National bank in the town where I live reports to me that the number of depositors in his Christmas Club was 542 and the subscriptions amounted to $16,146.98. The depositors in the savings banks throughout the country increased. In this town of Cornwall there is a population of a little over five thousand and the number of depositors in the savings banks is 1,371—that is, there are about as many depositors as there are families in the town. The total number of depositors in the savings banks of the United States is eleven million and a quarter, and during the last year of the war (1918) there was an increase of 12,540 depositors. How many Americans own stocks and bonds of various descriptions there are no statistics to tell; but the figures given in this paragraph are sufficient to indicate that there is in the United States a very large and increasing number of capitalists—that is, of men who possess more or less wealth employed in industry as a means of further production.

Two systems of industry are proposed to the American people for adoption.

One proposes to destroy capitalism by substituting for the despotism of capital the despotism of the proletariat. It has been recently stated by Lenine in the following paragraph:[1]

> Any leader of Marx who fails to understand that so long as capitalist society exists every serious conflict between the classes will eventuate either in an exclusive dictatorship of the bourgeoisie or an exclusive dictatorship of the proletariat shows his incapacity to understand either the economic or the political reasoning of our great leader.

The other plan proposes to destroy capitalism by making it possible for every intelligent, industrious, able-bodied citizen to become a capitalist. It is thus stated by Abraham Lincoln:[2]

> The prudent, penniness beginner in the world labors for wages a while, saves a surplus with which to buy tools or land for himself, then labors on his own account another while, and at length hires another new beginner to help him. This, say its advocates, is free labor—the just and generous and prosperous system, which opens the way for all, gives hope to all, and energy and progress and improvement of condition to all. If any continue through life in the condition of the hired laborer, it is not the fault of the system, but because of either a dependent nature which prefers it, or improvidence, folly, or singular misfortune.

What the choice of the American people between these two plans is cannot be doubted.

SOME ASPECTS OF THE SO-CALLED JAPANESE PROBLEM

BY FRANK A. VANDERLIP

This article, intended for use in our Japanese Number, published last week, reached us just too late to be included in that issue. Mr. Vanderlip has quite recently returned from Japan, and it was impossible for the article to reach us sooner.—THE EDITORS.

IF one asked for an incisive definition of just what the Japanese problem is, the answers which would be obtained from various Americans would be widely different in character. To some the Japanese problem relates to immigration of Japanese into California. To others it is concerned with the restriction upon the ownership of land by those who are already there. As we move eastward from the Pacific Coast the answers would indicate that the Japanese problem relates to the procedure and policy of the Japanese Government, particularly in respect to the extension of political influence, or to the gratification of territorial ambition on the continent of Asia. Some would define it as concerned with the evidence of harsh military administration in Korea. Others would indicate that the problem particularly embraced the attempt of Japan to succeed to all the rights that Germany had in the Province of Shantung, and to extend both political and economic influence there. Others would find the field of the problem extended over the whole vast area of Siberia, from the Pacific to Lake Baikal; and would see in the movement there the stretching forth of a greedy hand aiming to add territory and economic opportunity to Japan's sphere of influence. Japanese action in reference to political control, railway ownership, and economic penetration in Mongolia and Manchuria would be indicated by some as forming an important phase of the Japanese problem.

To my mind, there is a deeper Japanese problem than is indicated in any of the questions which are involved in the fore-

[1] "The Third International: Its Place in History." Quoted from a Bolshevist (German) propaganda periodical, translated and republished in a recent number of "Littell's Living Age."

[2] "Addresses and Letters of Abraham Lincoln," vol. i, p. 581.

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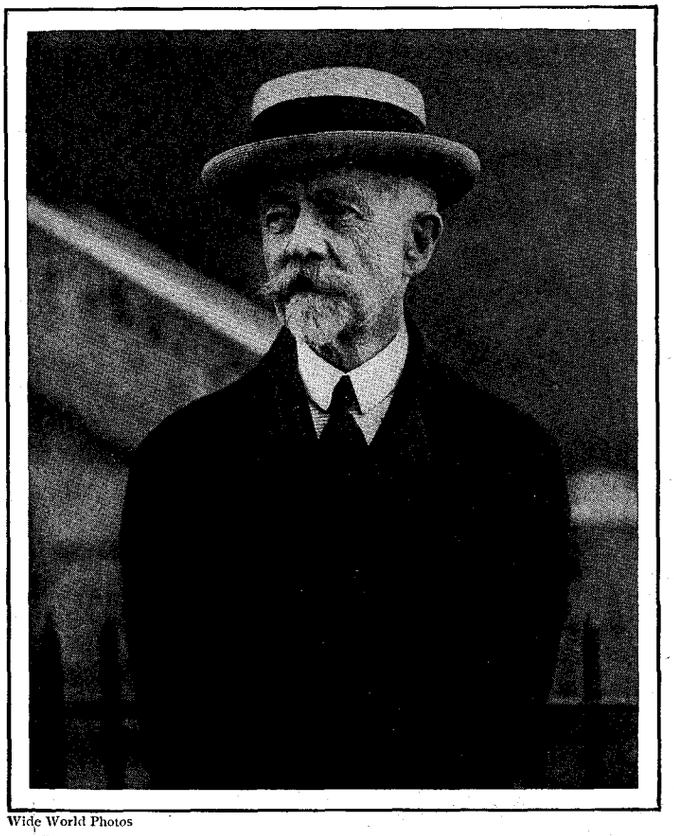
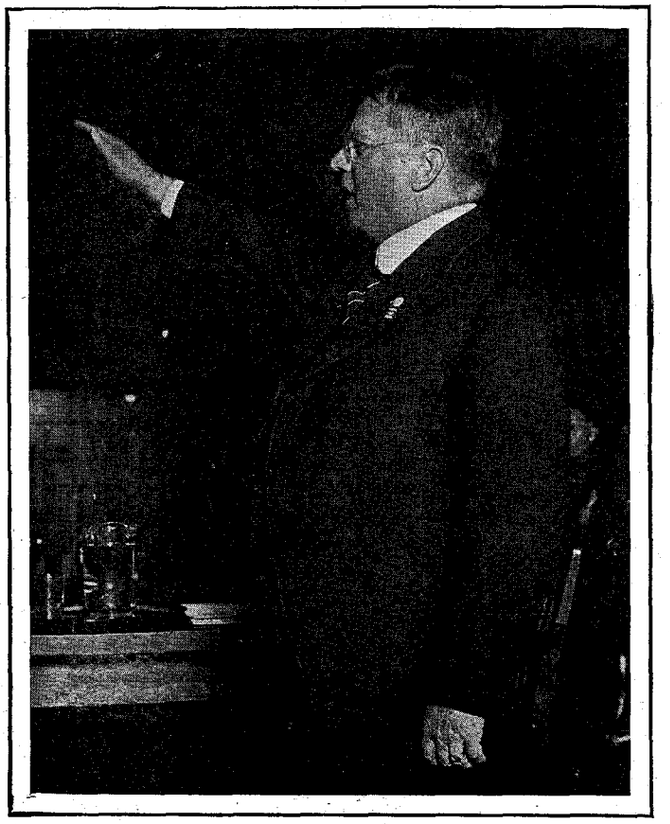
CURRENT EVENTS ILLUSTRATED



Wide World Photos

SENATOR HENRY CABOT LODGE, OF MASSACHUSETTS

Senator Lodge, Chairman of the Convention, has just celebrated his seventieth birthday, but is as active and forceful as ever



SENATOR HIRAM W. JOHNSON, OF CALIFORNIA

Senator Johnson attracted great attention as the leader of a "personally conducted" campaign for the nomination

(C) Underwood & Underwood

NICHOLAS MURRAY BUTLER, PRESIDENT OF COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

President Butler followed in the steps of another illustrious college president, but failed to secure the nomination

International

WILL H. HAYS (LEFT) AND THEODORE ROOSEVELT

Mr. Hays is only about forty years old, but is a veteran in politics; Colonel Roosevelt inherits a great name and is showing himself worthy of it

PROMINENT FIGURES AT THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION IN CHICAGO

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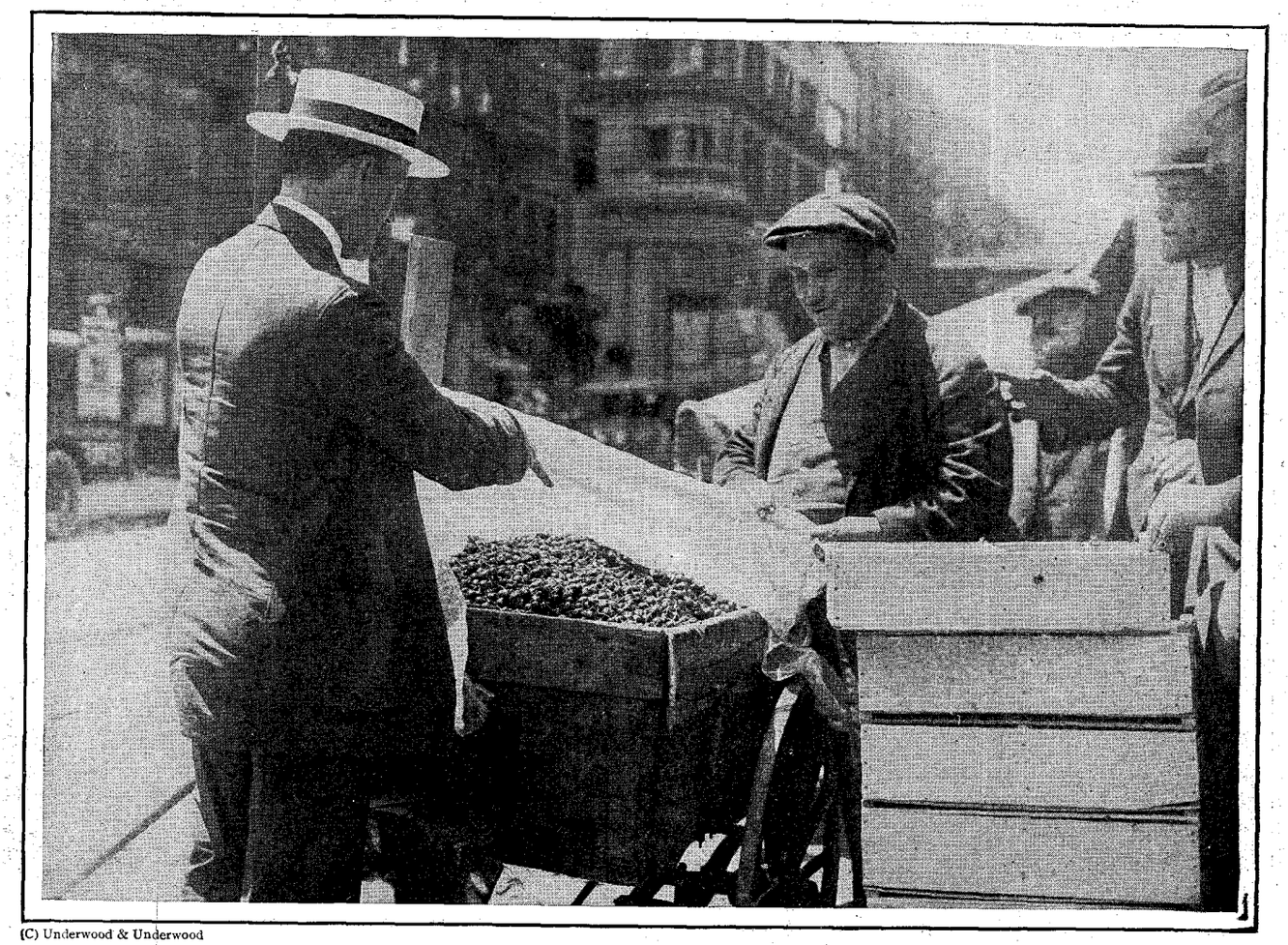

(C) Underwood & Underwood

PROTECTING THE PUBLIC AGAINST GERMS—"YOU MUST COVER UP YOUR STOCK TO KEEP THE FLIES OFF!"

The picture shows a Health Inspector warning a vender on the East Side that he must comply with the rules of the Health Department

Paul Thompson

THESE HAPPY LITTLE DANCERS ARE MEMBERS OF A CLASS IN THE NORTH HARLEM COMMUNITY CLUB FOR NEGRO CHILDREN

SUMMER IN NEW YORK CITY—CHILDREN DANCE AND FRUIT-DEALERS SWARM IN THE STREETS

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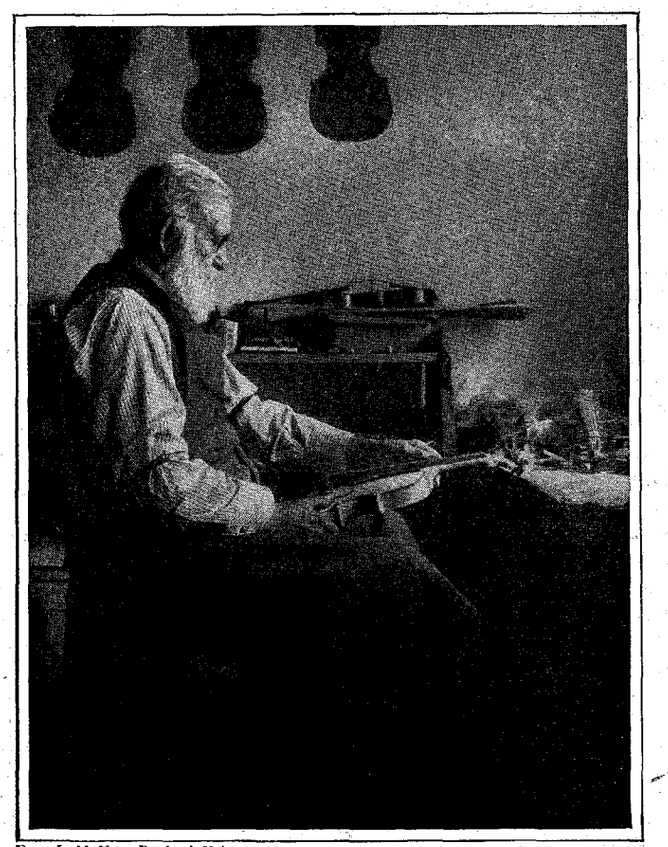
PICTURES FROM OUTLOOK READERS

(See offer on page 390)



From L. M. Nute, Portland, Maine

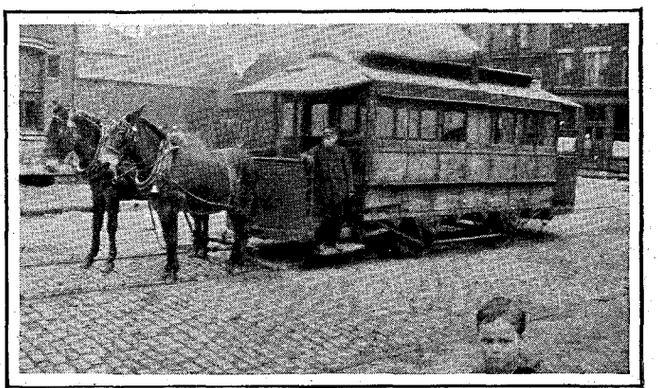
THE NEW VIOLIN—JUST COMPLETED IN ITS MAKER'S NINETIETH YEAR

This photograph, says the sender, is "from one of your Maine friends who has been an Outlook subscriber for twenty years." It shows the violin-maker with a violin in his hands which he has just finished and which has been made since his eighty-ninth birthday—"the best one I ever made," he considers it, "on account of the material used and the great pains taken in its construction"

From Mrs. Paul Baldwin, Baldwin, Louisiana

NO SUGAR SHORTAGE HERE!

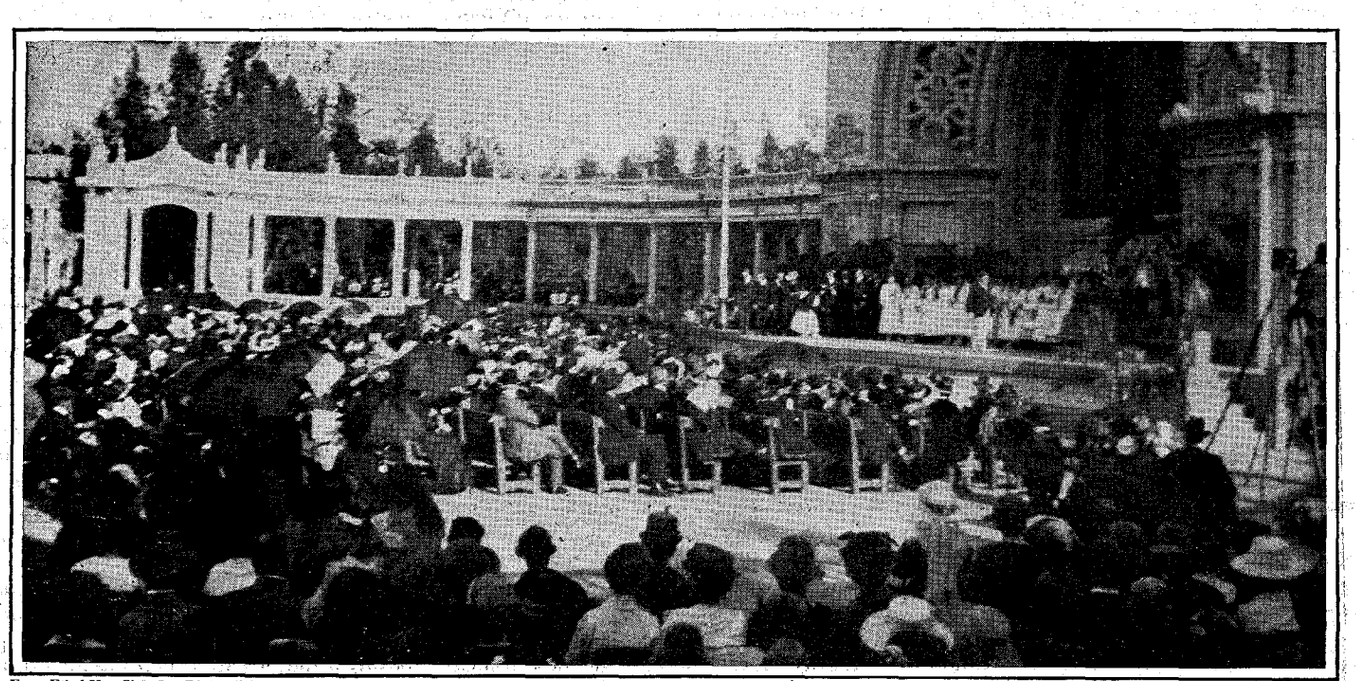
This picture, says our correspondent, "shows what sugar-cane will do with good cultivation and protection in a good year." It was taken at the Baldwin Plantation, on Bayou Teche, Louisiana



From R. H. Killingsworth, Pittsburgh, Pa.

A SURVIVAL—A MULE-DRAWN STREET CAR IN PITTSBURGH

This car, our informant states, has made a round trip from Twelfth to Thirtieth Street daily for seventeen years. It carries no passengers, and the driver cooks and eats his meals on the car. It makes the trip to hold the company's franchise on this route



From Ethel Van Cise, San Diego, Cal.

A COMMUNITY "SING" IN BALBOA PARK, SAN DIEGO

A free organ concert, according to the sender of this photograph, is held in this park every pleasant afternoon in the year, and is well attended both by residents and by visiting tourists

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going international relations. Japan has a home problem of which all these manifestations of international disturbance are but the inevitable outgrowth. That problem is economic, as are most of the problems of the world. It is immediate, insistent, impelling. It has to do with the prospect of to-morrow's dinner as presented to 57,000,000 people. It cannot wait for solution. A formula must be quickly found, and if that formula does not fit every ideal of Western civilization those ideals must give way.

I profoundly believe that there is inherent in Japanese aims the deepest desire that the national conduct of Japan shall conform to Western ideals. Among the people with whom I have been conferring in Japan—and the number included not only great business leaders, but the men occupying the highest political positions—there was an almost pathetic desire to make Japanese methods square with Western moral ideals. There was a humbleness of attitude in this respect, a desire for sympathy and guidance, that made one ashamed to remember how frequently the conduct of Western nations fails so to square with Western moral ideals.

There was, too, a spiritual quality in the minds of these men that would not be matched in groups drawn from similar stations in many of the great nations of the West. It may be answered that spiritual aims amount to little if they are not embodied in daily practice. I am not sure that that is a fair answer. I believe that there is more ground for hopefulness in the outlook for a nation when there are high spiritual aims in the minds of the men most largely responsible for the course of national life, even if there are lapses of conduct irreconcilable with those aims, than is the case where a people are materialistic, even though the conduct of such people, shaped by the curb of long precedence and wider international experience, is in its outward aspects open to less criticism.

The fundamental Japanese problem, out of which all other Japanese problems in which other nations are interested grow, is the immediate one of the food supply of a rapidly increasing population. The Japanese nation is confined to a comparatively small group of islands, mountainous in character, with not over ten or twelve per cent of the area capable of agricultural development. Fifty years ago the population of Japan was less than 33,000,000. To-day it is more than 57,000,000. There has been an increase in these five decades of more than seventy-five per cent; but there has been no increase in the arable land of the country. Agriculture is carried on with an astounding intensity. Mountain foothills are terraced to their summit. Irrigating waters have been led, at an enormous expenditure of labor and with great ingenuity, over steep hillsides. Almost everything is done by hand labor and with what we would regard as crude appliances. Where we sow fields of wheat broadcast and harvest with self-binders, the Japanese on infinitesimal plots prepare the ground with infinite labor, plant the wheat in neat rows, remove every weed by hand, harvest with a sickle, and thresh out the grain as they did a thousand years ago. This is not because their agricultural methods are backward, but because in these tiny fields, if the utmost possible results are to be secured, each field must be cultivated as we cultivate benches in a greenhouse. When all that is done, the nation is still short of food, and there are 600,000 additional mouths to feed each year. It is these 600,000 additional mouths, it is these 57,000,000 insistent stomachs, that make up the true Japanese problem.

Suppose we admit every charge that the most anti-Japanese-minded critics have to make. For the moment, let us agree that Japan is the Prussia of the East; that her diplomatic promises are undependable; that her Government is unresponsive to public opinion; that there is an ascendant military party impatient of and largely free from governmental control; that she harbors great territorial ambition, and is seeking to impose her political will in that great region inhabited by 400,000,000 people from among whom almost all semblance of centralized government has disappeared. Suppose we admit that her military control of subject peoples has sometimes been brutal to a point of atrociousness; that some of her great commercial interests work hand in hand with the military organization to the end that they may secure preferential advantage and shut out the competition of other nations. I do not admit all of these charges. There are some that I believe are true, and many that I am confident are not true. But let us for the moment suppose that every current anti-Japanese allegation could be proved. Still there exists this fundamental Japanese problem —the problem of to-morrow's dinner for 57,000,000 people.

The critics of Japan profess to stand on high moral ground. Frequently they inherently feel that they occupy a superior place in civilization, and that they are dealing with racial inferiors. The United States and Canada have agreed that the Japanese must be given no outlet for their people on the North American continent. With that conclusion I am myself in agreement, although I am far from being in agreement with some of the methods which have been used to bring about the end. These critics say further that Japan should not be permitted to extend her influence on the continent of Asia; that she has no right of domination over other people, and that, however the nations of the West may have played the game of territorial grabbing in the past, Japan at least must not be permitted to play it in the future.

All these admonitions may be uttered in highly moral tones. Our new ethical discovery of the right of self-determination by all peoples, no matter how low their political system may have sunk, no matter what injustices they may practice under their own weak, corrupt, and benighted governments, may continue to be insisted upon by people who have had little practical contact with the results of such political experiments. We may argue about the low ethical standards of the Orient, and believe that our own ideals, frequently ignored in our own actions, ought at least to be applied without compromise when measuring political acts in the East. Still there remains the problem of to-morrow's dinner in Japan.

Is it not fair that the critics of Japan should be asked for a formula by which Japan may hope to solve this problem of a food supply for her 57,000,000 people? She has been late in coming into the industrial game. When England, sixty years ago, had made a good start at world industrial supremacy—and remember that England had an ample supply of coal and iron as a foundation for her industrial achievements—Japan was blinking at the sight of a world that was new to her, with eyes dazzled and almost blinded by the brilliancy of an entirely novel system of Western politics, philosophy, science, and ethics. She was hampered by a language which almost no outsider succeeded in mastering, by a caligraphy that was but a series of pictures into which it is impossible freely to translate Western thought, by a feudalistic order of society entirely out of harmony with Western ideals of individualism, but gripping the nation through an undisturbed sway lasting more than a thousand years. She was introduced to Western ethical ideals that were new to her, but in practice she found that these new and strange neighbors spoke with cannon, demanded extra-territorial rights, compelled an intercourse which she had sought to avoid, set up their own courts to adjudicate differences, applied rules of law of which she had never heard, and frequently showed an entire absence of relation between moral standards and national action.

The whole subject is too vast for any attempt at discussion in the limits of a magazine article. The one suggestion which I want to make is that to-day Japan must have commercial contact with the world or Japan must starve. Her true problem is how to feed her people. It is all very well for us of the West to lay down moral precepts for her guidance. The best minds in the nation are pathetically responsive to our admonitions, deeply earnest in their desire that the nation shall follow a course which will gain for it the approval of the best of mankind; and she asks of us what shall she do? It is a fair question. Before we judge too harshly any lapse from our highest ideals, Japan is entitled to have our answer to her economic problem. If, before any person were permitted to make a public charge against Japan, he had to qualify for the position of critic by proposing a method by which Japan's dinner plate may be even frugally supplied, the number of Japanese critics would not be large.

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THE SQUARE PEG

A SERIES OF SIX STORIES

BY DONAL HAMILTON HAINES

III — THE PARTNERS

THERE had been a time when Stephen Trent's law office conveyed to the beholder much the same impression as a vacant house. It was perfectly appointed for the transaction of much business, and yet it was clear that the business had not come. And the chance caller, if he happened to find the room occupied, was likely to see merely a tall young man in a gray suit sitting before a bare desk smoking his pipe and staring out of the window.

This condition had endured while Medford had accustomed itself to the idea that Trent—who was a native son—was not cut quite to the pattern of other lawyers. Medford had expected him to be conventional; to be the same sort of an attorney as his father and grandfather before him. When he had betrayed a tendency not merely to do the unusual, but actually to fly in the face of tradition, the city had been skeptical, almost hostile, and its displeasure had taken the form of that complete neglect which is likely to be fatal to the prospects of a young lawyer. Trent's income was sufficient to enable him to wait with fortitude. As weeks lengthened into months there developed and grew in the city a conviction that perhaps on some points Trent was right and Medford was wrong, that his attitude was not, after all, something which set him inalienably apart.

He began to get business, but his cases were not of the usual sort. He had made it clear that, while he was just as able a lawyer as the next (as a man certainly should be after abandoning his native city for fourteen years while he got a thorough education), he was less interested in the legal aspects of a case than the ethical issues involved. More than any other attorney at the local bar he seemed to feel the law a dangerous edged tool which was not to be brandished carelessly and was to be wielded as the surgeon's knife rather than the warrior's blade.

As a consequence the majority of his clients were men and women who weren't quite sure whether or not they wanted to invoke the aid of the law, and who came to him for advice rather than for counsel. It was said that he discouraged more prospective cases than he accepted, and that the surest way of keeping out of court was to put your case in Trent's hands.

Timothy Eldredge, editor of the Medford "Telegram" and one of Trent's closest friends, went even further than this.

"I'm not sure," he told Stephen, "that you ought not to change the sign outside your office window. It's misleading."

"How so?" inquired Trent.

"You advertise yourself an attorney-at-law," answered Eldredge. "You'd get nearer the truth if you professed to be an ethical adviser."

By the time he had been practicing for a year Trent had earned precisely two hundred and eighty-three dollars and some odd cents, but he had taught the community that he was as valuable a convenience as a medical specialist, and pretty well assured himself that the first would be the only really lean year he would have to endure.

If Trent's office had not existed, it is not quite clear just where Mr. Herbert Burleson would have gone for advice and help. Certainly there were almost no other lawyers in the city whom he could have consulted in all frankness, and yet he felt his situation desperate enough. No few men in his plight have been known to resort to violence.

It was an invigorating day in early spring when Burleson entered Stephen's office. He was one of those men exceedingly difficult to describe, because a picture of him must prove a picture of a thousand others as well. Take any retail merchant of middle age from any city of twenty thousand inhabitants, assume a fair degree of intelligence, reasonable prosperity, a fair share of troubles, and a last year's overcoat, and you have him. He was quite the last man in the world one would expect to see entering a lawyer's office with a troubled brow.

This was exactly Stephen's feeling as he rose from his chair to greet his visitor. He could imagine no set of circumstances which could possibly have involved Burleson in legal difficulties, nor could he think of any other reasons for a call from him. Burleson accepted the chair Trent offered him, folded his hands in his lap, and talked absent-mindedly about indifferent matters while Stephen watched him with no little curiosity.

"I've come to see what I can do about Phillips," Burleson announced abruptly, quite unconscious that he interrupted the lawyer in the middle of a sentence.

"Phillips?" Stephen repeated, doubtfully.

"Yes. Tom Phillips."

"You've had trouble of some sort with him?"

Burleson's face hardened unpleasantly. It was a pleasant enough countenance, not designed for such expressions, and it looked peculiarly ugly.

"I mean to," he said, truculently.

Stephen's curiosity was no longer idle. Here promised the very sort of case he liked best. He turned slightly in his chair and rested his elbows on the desk.

"I'm afraid you'll have to be a little more explicit, Mr. Burleson," he said.

For some seconds the man sat twisting his fingers together uncomfortably, his eyes on the floor, then he said, without looking up:

"I've taken Tom Phillips's dust and leavings all my life, and I'm tired of it. If the law won't give me any help, it's a rotten law."

Beneath the words Trent sensed a hatred of almost terrifying proportions—one of those emotions which has grown secretly for years until it amounts to a mania.

The mere statement was surprising enough. He knew neither of the two men well, although for years he had bought his shoes of Burleson & Phillips whenever he had been long enough at home in Medford to need a new pair. Their store was only a few doors down Elm Street from the building in which his offices were situated, and had been there ever since he could remember. He had never heard the faintest rumor of trouble between the two men.

"I'm greatly surprised and very sorry to hear anything of this sort," he said, cautiously. "I'm sure I hope the trouble between you can be adjusted without any unpleasantness."

"It can't," Burleson retorted, sharply.

"In that case," suggested Stephen, "perhaps you'd better give me all the details at once."

Again Burleson seemed to have difficulty in finding words to express his desires. He rubbed one hand nervously along the arm of his chair and his gaze remained on the rug at his feet.

"I want," he said finally, "to dissolve partnership."

Stephen waited a moment before speaking, realizing that the man before him must be handled as carefully as a nervous child.

"I see," he said, slowly. "Have you talked the matter over with Mr. Phillips?"

"No."

"Don't you think it might be better to do that before coming to me?"

"No, I don't."

"Perhaps you're right. Do you mean that you fear Mr. Phillips would object to dissolving partnership?"

"Of course he would. It would hurt the business."

"Then why are you anxious to make such a move?"

"I don't give a damn what happens to the business as long as it hurts him!" Burleson said, vindictively.

Once more Stephen trod warily. He thought he began to understand the real issue, and realized at once that he had

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never attempted to deal with a more delicate case.

"Before I say much about it I shall want to see the partnership agreement," he said.

Burleson reached into an inner pocket, drew out an envelope yellowed with age, and tossed it onto the desk. Stephen picked it up and drew out a single folded sheet of paper. It was an ordinary partnership agreement which his own father had drawn up in the same office more than a quarter of a century before. The clause which immediately caught his eye was one stating that the partnership could be dissolved only by mutual consent.

"I am very much afraid that your hands are tied unless Mr. Phillips feels as you do about the matter," he said.

"You mean that mutual consent clause?"

"Exactly."

"I know it," admitted Burleson. "It was that brought me here. I guess I can make Tom come to time all right, but I wanted to find out just how much I could do to make him agree with me."

"I don't quite understand."

"Well, we've got to do one of three things. He'll have to buy me out, I'll have to buy him out, or we'll have to split. I want to buy him out and I haven't got the money."

"You ought to have no difficulty in getting a loan."

"I can get the loan all right, but Tom won't sell. I want to make him sell, and the only way I can do that is to convince him that the business isn't paying. He's shrewd enough to know whether that's true or not. I can't fool him. I can't make him believe we're losing money unless that's actually the case. Now I want to know just how far I can go in that direction and still keep the right side of the law?"

A man of less discernment than Trent would have made an end of the matter right there, would first have given the shoe-dealer a piece of his righteous indignation, and then turned him out of the office. As far as his immediate desire went Stephen would have preferred to do exactly that. But his habit of probing farther beneath the surface than circumstances seemed to justify made him curb his natural impulse and make another attempt to get to the bottom of Burleson's mind. He was a good enough judge of men and their emotions to be perfectly sure that he could not dispose of Burleson's case by calling him a scoundrel and turning him out of the office.

"Of course you don't mean that as it sounds, Mr. Burleson," he said, quietly. "I don't think you intend to insult me by asking me to advise you how you can come as close as possible to breaking the law without actually doing it, particularly as your confessed object is injuring a man who has been your partner in business for years.

"But I quite understand that something extraordinary must have happened to make you feel as you do. I've been in much the same fix myself, when it seemed to me that nothing but doing somebody a real and lasting injury would satisfy me. While I don't in the least approve of the course you think you want to follow, I should like to say now that if you can convince me that your partner has done you an injustice which can be righted I'll do my best to help you, whether it's through the courts or outside them. But I can't possibly help you as I should like unless you tell me the whole story from start to finish."

The frank nature of this speech had the immediate effect of putting Burleson at his ease. His very attitude in the chair he occupied became less awkward and self-conscious; he seemed to relax physically and his face lost something of its harassed expression. At the same time he discovered the readiness of speech which had thus far eluded him.

Without any further assistance from Trent he began to talk. The sound of his own voice and the relief of confessing feelings which had laid pent up within him for years made him forget everything except that he had at last found a sympathetic ear into which he could pour the story of his wrongs.

What he had to say was nothing more or less than an involuntary admission that he lacked that degree of self-assertiveness which had characterized Thomas Phillips. Burleson was totally unconscious that he was making such a confession. He fancied that he was simply telling Trent with a wealth of detail how Tom had always had all the luck and he none of it; how the very things at which he had clutched frantically and vainly had seemed to fall into Phillips's hands; how from the very beginning complete happiness had kept out of his reach, and that nobody but his partner was to blame for it.

It had begun almost with the formation of business relations between them. They had both fallen in love with the same girl—and Tom Phillips had married her. Burleson had found another wife, and they had been perfectly happy, yet his love for her had never been sufficient to banish the thought of the greater happiness that might have been his had he married Katherine Lee.

Everything else had gone the same way. They had had plenty of business troubles during the first days of the firm, and they had fallen heaviest upon Burleson. Phillips had made nothing of them, had appeared careless and indifferent when they were on the verge of bankruptcy and his partner was walking the floor of his room one sleepless night after another. And then a distant relative of Tom's had died and left him five thousand dollars, enough to carry them through and set them on their feet.

Year after year it had gone on in exactly the same fashion. Burleson was unable to cite a single case in which his own misfortunes had been due to any overt act of Phillips's, and yet to his distorted view this seemed to be true. Tom had had everything he wanted; he had had almost nothing. There was no fairness in it anywhere, and he meant to see that it was different in the future.

"Why, just look at us now!" he exclaimed. "Any stranger coming into the store would think Tom was the boss and I was nothing but a clerk!"

Trent did not for a moment realize that the long recital was actually finished, that Burleson had finally talked himself out. When he did, he leaned back in his chair and nodded thoughtfully.

"I think that I understand the whole thing fairly well," he said, slowly. "I needn't say that the law offers no solution whatever; that if we try to make use of it we shall only be courting a great deal more trouble than we want. But I don't say this to discourage you. I say it merely to caution you. I believe that there's a solution for the trouble and that in time we shall hit upon it. But in matters of this sort I have only one word of advice to people who come to me for help, and that is—Go slow!"

"That's just what I don't want," declared Burleson. "I want something to happen, and happen in a hurry."

"All right," proposed Trent. "I promise you to do everything in my power to hurry matters on condition that you'll agree to leave the whole business in my hands and to do nothing whatever on your own responsibility."

Burleson hesitated, but Trent's sympathetic listening had not been without its effect.

"That seems reasonable," he decided. "How soon do you think you'll have anything to tell me?"

"In a few days at the outside," Trent promised. "I'll phone you the minute I do."

After his client had gone Trent remained for a few moments staring thoughtfully out the open window, then left his office and walked down Elm Street. He entered the small shop kept by the old French tobacconist, Pierre Manton, nodded at the shopkeeper—a huge bulk of a man with the mustache and imperial of a cuirassier of the First Empire—dropped onto a wooden bench on the other side of the room, and sat there puffing at his pipe.

Trent was the most frequent occupant of that wooden bench. Between him and Manton there existed a very complete understanding. They shared many beliefs and differed upon others, they played widely contrasted games of chess with great enjoyment, and Stephen had once stood between his friend and ejectment proceedings.

Very often he asked Manton's opinion on questions which were perplexing him. He never betrayed professional confidence; his questions were always hypothetical. He put one of them now.

"Manton," he asked suddenly, "suppose that every day of your life you had been brought into contact with a human being who was just a little bit better man in every way than you were. Suppose that instead of recognizing the truth you had come to feel that life had just stacked the cards against you and in this chap's

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favor, that it was one gigantic piece of injustice, and that you meant to change it. What would you do?"

"I should probably do nothing," answered Manton, after a moment's consideration.

"Nothing?" repeated Trent. "That isn't like you. Shouldn't you even make an effort?"

"Probably not, because I am a creature of too great prudence. For the one course open to me which could hold out any faint promise of satisfaction would be impossible for a man of my propensities. All that I could do would be to come into violent physical collision with this better man and thrash him within an inch of his life. And, as I say, I am by nature too cautious for such an outburst."

Trent looked at his friend with much satisfaction.

"Our minds," he said, "are flatteringly alike. I had reached just about the same conclusion while walking down here from my office. As far as I can see, you are entitled to half my retainer."

He waited three days. Then, instead of telephoning Burleson, he stopped his car in front of the shoe store one Saturday afternoon when the mild April breezes carried more than a hint of summer.

"I'm going out for a round of golf," he explained to Burleson. "Better come along, and we can talk things over."

"I don't play golf," answered the merchant. "Tom does enough of that for two."

"I know you don't," answered Stephen, "but it's too fine a day for a stuffy office. You can go round the course with me. The walk will do you good. Otherwise our talk can wait till Monday morning, because I've no intention of losing my game."

"It's Saturday," objected Burleson, looking uneasily around the store. "I ought to be here."

"Suit yourself," answered Stephen, with apparent carelessness.

"I'll come," surrendered Burleson with bad grace.

As they drove the three miles to the country club Stephen talked steadily. His manner gave the impression that he had been making a careful and rather exhaustive study of the retail shoe business, whereas he had done nothing of the sort. He seemed to be advising his client to dissolve partnership and go into business for himself.

"I can't see," he said, "why two good shoe houses shouldn't succeed in Medford just as well as one. And it struck me that it might be the best solution for your particular case."

The idea did not seem to impress Burleson at all favorably.

"It's perfectly possible," Trent added with deliberate intent, "that you might in time get some of Phillips's business."

Burleson brightened perceptibly, then turned gloomy again.

"No chance," he said, drearily. "We've got the best location in town right now."

Burleson waited on the club-house porch while Stephen changed. As they walked toward the first tee Trent asked:

"Know anything about the game?"

"Not a thing. Always struck me as a silly business."

Trent grinned.

"That's what they all say," he said as he addressed his ball.

For perhaps a third of the distance around the course Mr. Burleson was frankly bored. Had Trent not provided him with better cigars than he usually smoked and the day not been of a sort to make even a misanthrope glad that there was yet some life in him, the thought of his neglected business would have made him very unhappy.

Trent talked almost exclusively of golf. He dwelt at some length upon the unquestioned benefits of the game, particularly to those whose business was of a confining nature.

"Now I should imagine that this golf will add five years to your partner's life," he suggested.

"He's got a bad stomach," Burleson said, almost spitefully.

"Not as bad as he would have if he didn't put in all his Saturday afternoons and Sunday mornings out here," answered Trent.

Then he abandoned this angle of the subject and discussed the game's technicalities. He explained every shot as he made it, telling Burleson the object of every stroke, pointing out his own errors and successes. By the time they had reached the sixth hole the shoe-dealer's interest had quickened slightly.

"Take you long to learn?" he asked.

"Yes and no," answered Trent, hiding a smile. "You can acquire some skill in a very short time. But you never get it all learned. That's the real beauty of it; you keep learning and you keep improving."

He paused to execute an approach shot requiring considerable skill and brought it off nicely.

"Mighty expensive, isn't it?" Burleson asked.

"Not very," answered Trent. "And when you consider the amount it saves you in doctor's bills it's real economy."

Trent had played two holes of his second round (and no mention whatever had been made of the retail shoe business) when Burleson tottered a step nearer the inevitable plunge.

"Looks easy," he observed, insinuatingly. "Looks as though almost anybody could do it."

With Machiavellian cunning, Trent waited fully ten minutes after this before he asked, innocently:

"Like to try a shot?"

Burleson glanced around him nervously.

"Why, I don't mind," he said.

He took Stephen's proffered iron, paid no attention whatever to the directions given him, swung with commendable zeal, and sent a bit of turf flying skyward.

"Damn!" said Mr. Burleson.

"Fine!" applauded Stephen. "If you'd used any other oath, I'd have despaired of you. That 'damn' proves you a born golfer. Now watch the way I swing."

Ten minutes later they retired to the practice ground the other side of the club-house, stopping only long enough to borrow a cap and a set of old clubs from the professional. It was nearly six o'clock when they came in to the showers, and Burleson was enjoying the first healthy fatigue he had experienced in years.

They dined on one of the broad porches overlooking a little lake. Again their talk was all of the game. There came finally a pause, during which they enjoyed the first whiffs from their cigars. Then Burleson asked, abruptly:

"Tom spends a lot of time out here, doesn't he?"

"A good deal; yes."

"Play much of a game?"

"I can't say, exactly. I don't think I've ever played a round with him. I believe his handicap is eight."

"What does that mean?"

"It means that the best players in the club allow him eight strokes advantage a round."

"That's pretty high, isn't it?"

"Rather."

A considerable pause, and then Burleson said:

"You know, I believe I might join. How do you go about it?"

"I'll be only too glad to put your name up," said Trent. "There'll be no no difficulty about it at all. Now about finding a location for your store—"

"Oh, never mind the store!" exclaimed Burleson. "Will you help me pick out my clubs?"

It was on a Monday morning several weeks later that Burleson next entered his lawyer's office. He was an altered-looking being. His eye was clearer, his figure straighter, and his nose had been burned to a vivid scarlet.

"Yesterday morning," he announced before Trent had finished his greeting, "I went around with Tom. I made a ninety, and I beat him three up."

"You didn't!"

"I did, honor bright! You know, I believe I'm coming along. Do you think I might get in the eighties by August?"

Trent offered congratulations and encouragement in the manner required among golfers. There came then a short pause, during which all of Burleson's face became very much the color of his nose.

"About that business I came to see you about a few weeks back," he began, diffidently. "You haven't done anything, have you?"

"Not enough to commit us to anything," answered Trent, trifling with the truth.

"I'm glad of it," Burleson said, heartily. "You don't need to give it another thought. I've dropped the idea. In fact, I don't know just what put it into my head. Liver, I guess."

They shook hands a second time with even more fervor and a more thorough understanding than the first.

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THE BOOK TABLE: DEVOTED TO BOOKS AND THEIR MAKERS

AN ULSTER REALIST[1]

BY LLOYD R. MORRIS

THE visit to this country of Mr. St. John Ervine, the novelist and dramatist, coincides with the publication of his new novel, "The Foolish Lovers." Naturally there is suggested not only a review of this book but a discussion of Mr. Ervine's work as a whole, and also of the trend and character of the production of the younger school of present-day Irish writers of novels and plays.

The quickening of the spirit in Ireland, which during the past thirty years has found expression in literature, the drama, a philological revival, and a profoundly significant social and economic rehabilitation, has in the quality and the content of its contribution to literature experienced a transforming cycle of change. To appreciate its extent we have but to contrast the work produced by Irish writers in the first dawn of the literary revival with that being produced today by the younger generation. The revival began with the writing of a few men who were eager to create a literature in English which would express the national consciousness of Ireland, which would firmly integrate Irish thought in its own peculiar cultural tradition, and thus release it from intellectual dependence upon England. Out of this desire for a spiritual regeneration came a body of literature almost exclusively preoccupied with Celtic tradition, folk-lore, and legend, expressing a view of life which dismisses the world of reality and dwells in a world of vision and imagination, and finding its most felicitous phrasing in symbols.

The programme of a national literature received its most complete exposition in the critical writings of W. B. Yeats, and one of his most cherished ideals was the creation of a folk-theater for which plays would be written in the peasant idiom, an expression at once poetic and colloquial, and unspoiled by previous literary use. It was the conscious cultivation of a literary style which led to the discovery of contemporary peasant life as the subject-matter of literature, a discovery which not only changed the entire art of the Irish literary renascence, but gave it the special content which is its most characteristic contribution to our literary experience.

The younger Irish playwrights and novelists—St. John Ervine, Padraic Colum, T. C. Murray, "Rutherford Mayne," James Joyce, and many another—have concentrated their attention upon the life of to-day, the life of the peasantry, the townsmen, and the official classes; they are writing of it with a direct and austere realism, and their work is instinct with a fierce passion for spiritual and social development. "The young Irishman," writes Mr. Ervine in his incisive study of the Ulster movement, "wishes to make a drastic change in the state of Irish affairs. Wherever he looks in Ireland he finds inferior institutions, corrupt management, artificial divisions, an ignorant, prejudiced press, an uninstructed people, and a low level of subsistence. When he compares his country with England, he is humiliated by the difference between them. He feels that the greatest danger to Irish development lies in the complacency and self-deception of the Irish people. It is not English tyranny which is destroying Ireland, for there is no English tyranny now; it is Irish blindness which is destroying it." Such, in substance, is the attitude of the younger Irish writers toward Irish life. The tradition of "Celticism" finds no place in their work; they are too exclusively preoccupied with the problems of contemporary experience to have much concern with the Fianna or Cuchulain, Maeve or Deirdre. But although superficially, at least, their work appears to have little in common with that of the earlier writers of the renascence, actually it is informed by the same

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ST. JOHN G. ERVINE

spirit, the same desire for a spiritually—not politically—independent Ireland, the same crusading impulsion toward the ideal. The note of protest and the note of rebuke are the two most significant characteristics of the work of the younger Irish writers. But the younger Irish writers are artists first and foremost and social reformers only by implication.

The quality of the experience which has caused this change in the subject-matter of contemporary Irish literature is evident in the work of St. John Ervine, who is perhaps the most representative of the realists. Although still a young man—he lacks three years of forty—Mr. Ervine has already published six plays, four novels, and a volume of short stories, as well as a rarely acute interpretation of the economic and political situation and the spiritual forces which are to-day making for a more complete synthesis in Irish life. Mr. Ervine is a native of Belfast, the largest industrial center in Ireland, and the stronghold of the Ulster movement. When little more than a boy he went to England, and spent the early years of his manhood as a journalist in London. During that period he contributed short stories and sketches to various periodicals, many of the best being later collected in a little volume, "Eight o'Clock, and Other Studies," published in 1912. About ten years ago he turned his attention to the theater, and wrote in rapid succession "The Magnanimous Lover," first produced at the Abbey Theater in Dublin in 1912; "Mixed Marriage," produced at the Abbey a year before his first play; "The Critics," produced at the Abbey in 1913; "The Orangeman," first produced in England and put on at the Abbey in 1914; "Jane Clegg," first produced by Miss Horniman's company at the Gaiety Theater, Manchester, in 1913; and "John Ferguson," published in 1915. For a short period Mr. Ervine was the director of the Abbey Theater. Meanwhile he was also busy with prose fiction. His first novel, "Mrs. Martin's Man," was published in 1914; the following year saw the publication of "Alice and a Family," a second novel, and a trenchant study of "Sir Edward Carson and the Ulster Movement." These books were followed in 1917 by "Changing Winds;" and his latest novel, "The Foolish Lovers," has just been brought out in the United States.

"The Foolish Lovers" exemplifies to a very high degree the special gifts which have made its author's novels notable among recent fiction. Of these the most individual are a wistful appreciation of the ironic truth that the profound failures of life are made by those who have most obviously succeeded, and a gentle humor which discovers to us the tendency of human character to find in itself its own compensations. Mr. Ervine has something of Dickens's love for people, particularly for those to whom life is a constant spiritual struggle, and he has a distinctive and native talent for interpreting with rare sympathy and with equally rare simplicity the homely, conventional folk who make up the bulk of every-day humanity. It is characters such as these that he puts before us in "The Foolish Lovers," an Ulster family each member of which, with a single exception, finds spiritual fulfillment only in the sacrifice of his most cherished desire. But although the book is a study in the irony of circumstance, it is conceived in a vein of quiet humor. No more delightfully tender description of a courtship is contained in recent fiction, nor any which so finely sets forth as that in "The Foolish Lovers" the unconscious humor of young love. Equally delicate is his study of the two old bachelors, one of whom has failed in life because lack of courage prevented him from seeking in the world the adventures for which he sought refuge in books, and the other because his devotion to duty involved the sacrifice of his self-expression. And in this book Mr. Ervine has given us a keen analysis of the impulse of each generation to rebel against the compromise with circumstance made by its elders.

St. John Ervine is chiefly concerned in both his plays and his novels with the great average middle class which lives, whether in town or country, a life characteristically its own. His chosen field is his native city of Belfast and the surrounding Ulster country, though he has dealt with equal success with London in "Alice and a Family" and, more notably, in "Jane Clegg;" and in "Changing Winds" and "The Foolish Lovers" he has finely contrasted Irish and English life. But Belfast and its immediate environs are the scene of "Mrs. Martin's Man," of considerably more than half of "Changing Winds" and "The Foolish Lovers," of "Mixed Marriage," "The Magnanimous Lover," "The Orangeman," and "John

[1] The Foolish Lovers. By St. John Greer Ervine. The Macmillan Company, New York.

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Ferguson." And this localization of interest is important because, broadly speaking, the atmosphere of Ulster life is vividly colored by an issue which, although commonly believed to have its basis in politics, is largely a question of creed and largely the result of traditional prejudices. Belfast is the center of Irish industrial life, and the farms of Ulster are productive; for generations security of tenure has made certain aspects of the agrarian problem unknown evils. And while the agricultural population of the south and west of Ireland were living in a condition bordering upon economic dissolution, the bulk of the population of Ulster, composed of a compact group of agriculturists and industrial workers, have had a fair measure of economic prosperity. The contrast in economic situation added fuel to the ingrained and—on both sides—bigoted prejudice which has made a political issue out of a difference in religious belief. This contrast, however, is being gradually leveled away. The agricultural population of the south and west of Ireland has become prosperous because through the various land purchase acts it has become a population of peasant proprietors, and it shares with the agricultural population of Ulster the benefits of the co-operative movement in agriculture. So that to-day, as Mr. Ervine points out, "the farmer wants Home Rule because he is an Irishman; the industrial worker wishes to maintain the Union because he is profoundly afraid of the Roman Catholic Church. The fear of the Pope is the beginning and the end of the Belfast 'man in the street's' objection to Home Rule. There are no politics in Ireland; there are two religions."

Such, in brief, is the situation as it exists with the older generation of Irishmen, and the feeling is more intense in Ulster than elsewhere for the very good reason that the Protestant population of Ulster is a minority. The younger generation, however, is greatly disposed to bury the issue; Home Rule and Unionism are far more vital to such men as the late John Redmond and Sir Edward Carson than they are to the thinking young men of Belfast or Dublin. In fact, the only political issue which exists in Ireland to-day and which has any attraction for the younger generation is that of complete separation, and this issue makes its appeal to the young radicals. Mr. Ervine's novels and plays express, for the most part, the conflict between the attitudes of the two generations; it is the motivating force of "Mixed Marriage," in which a proposed intermarriage provokes a bloody riot that prevents the success of a strike in which laborers of both faiths are striving to ameliorate their economic condition. It is the theme of "The Orangeman," in which Tom M'Clurg, refusing to march in the procession commemorating the Battle of the Boyne, beating the huge drum which his father has beat in every such procession for many years, puts his foot through the drum, furious at his father's bullying. "I'm not an Orangeman," says Tom, "and I never will be. If you think I'm going to bother my head about your ould Orange Lodges and your members of Parliament, talking their damned rot, you're quaren mistaken. You would think at your age you would know better." We find the same conflict of attitude in "Changing Winds," in which Mr. Quinn, perhaps the finest of Ervine's gallery of portraits, a Protestant and an Ulsterman, loves Ireland as deeply and disapproves of the English as cordially as any Nationalist. And in "Changing Winds" we have a composite picture of the best thought in Ireland to-day in all its varied currents, from the quixotic and idealistic revolutionists of 1916, MacDonagh and Pearse, who derived equally from the Gaelic revival and the first ideals of the literary renascence, to the spiritual pilgrimage of "Æ," the practical social philosophy of the co-operative movement, and the programme of economic amelioration put forward by Sir Horace Plunkett and "Æ."

In the final analysis, it is the economic and social idealists who have won the allegiance of the young Irishmen. Perhaps their strength lies in the fact that behind the immediate and practical programme is a philosophy in which the spirit is released; possibly it is because they offer the one intellectually tenable process by which the regeneration of Irish life and the Irish mind may be accomplished. Ireland to-day is in an emotional and intellectual ferment, and it is this seething and crystallization which has found expression in the work of the realists, and specifically in the work of St. John Ervine. The reaction of his work to the life with which he deals, its principal intellectual content, is a firm conviction that Ireland must accomplish her own regeneration, that Irishmen must prove themselves capable of spiritual freedom. He is weary of the poets who are finding an escape from the immediate problems of life in the revival of a romantic tradition, he has no sympathy with the impractical separatist movement, and still less with petty politicians like Sir Edward Carson and the old Nationalist party. "We must be free," he has written, "free from the bondage of history, free from the bondage of politics, free from the bondage of religion, and free from the bondage of our bellies! There are four Irishmen to be conquered and controlled: the Publican, the Priest, the Politician, and the Poet. . . . We must kill the Publican, we must subdue the Priest, we must humiliate the Politician, and chasten the Poet."

Ervine's work is an interpretation of what the younger men of Ireland are thinking and feeling to-day, of the problems which they are facing, the programmes to which they have given their allegiance, the solutions which they have accomplished. His literary method is that of the realist; his approach to life is singularly direct, and his interest lies rather in the mental experience of his characters in its relation to their environment than in the purely external details of existence. In all of his novels St. John Ervine has made interesting the prosaic and matter-of-fact life that he knows so well. He is a creator of characters that seem to possess their own lives, of which his plays and novels reveal only a part. Mrs. Martin, Jane Clegg, Gilbert Farlow, and, in "The Foolish Lovers," Mrs. MacDermot, a study of abiding mother love as poetic and as real as that of Mrs. Martin, and the two finely contrasted characters of Uncle Matthew, who lives only in the romance which he finds in literature, and Uncle William, who is deprived of self-expression by his devotion to his ideals of duty—these are characters not readily forgotten, made out of the very warp and woof of life, tenderly wrought by one who possesses a deep insight into the soul of common humanity. Ervine treats life simply and impartially, with an impersonal attitude, but with a very great feeling for its beauty and its pathos. He conceives it as a continuous process, without beginning and without end, and in making the selection demanded by art he chooses only a point of departure and one of conclusion. He has great power in the building up of dialogue, an even greater ability to create dramatic situations, and a humor at times ambient, but more frequently ironic.

A dramatist of unusual ability, St. John Ervine is remarkable among contemporary Irish writers for his mastery of the novel as a literary form. For the Irish literary renascence, significant as has been its contribution to other departments of literature, has produced few novelists of as conspicuous a talent as its poets and playwrights. Essentially, the power of Ervine's work lies in his vivid insight into the beauty and pathos, the romance, the humor, and the tragedy which enter into the common life of common men and women; the quality which influences in us an emotion of recognition, a feeling that the experience out of which he writes is shared by each of us. And there is a somewhat special value in his work as an interpretation of the ideals of the new Ireland.

BOOKS RECEIVED

BIOGRAPHY

Learned Lady in England (The). 1650–1760. By Myra Reynolds. Illustrated. Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston.

Leonard Wood. By William Herbert Hobbs. Introduction by Henry A. Wise. Illustrated. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York.

Life of Thomas Coutts, Banker (The). By Ernest Hartley Coleridge. 2 vols. Illustrated. The John Lane Company, New York.

Pasteur: The History of a Mind. By Emile Duclaux. Translated by Edwin F. Smith and Florence Hedges. Illustrated. The W. B. Saunders Company, Philadelphia.

Theodore Roosevelt: The Boy and the Man. By James Morgan. New Edition. The Macmillan Company, New York.

POETRY

Poems in Captivity. By John Still. The John Lane Company, New York.

Rhymes of a Homesteader. By Elliott C. Lincoln. Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston.

Roamer (The), and Other Poems. By George Edward Woodberry. Harcourt, Brace & Howe, New York.

Songs and Portraits. By Maxwell Struthers Burt. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York.

Songs from the Journey. By Wilton Agnew Barrett. The George H. Doran Company, New York.

MISCELLANEOUS

Case Against Spiritualism (The). By Jane T. Stoddart. The George H. Doran Company, New York.

Common Sense and Labour. By Samuel Crowther. Doubleday, Page & Co., Garden City.

Great Adventure of Panama (The). By Philippe Bunau-Varilla. Doubleday, Page & Co., Garden City.

Handbook on Health and How to Keep It. By Walter Camp. D. Appleton & Co., New York.

Is Violence the Way Out of Our Industrial Disputes? By John Haynes Holmes. Dodd, Mead & Co., New York.

Opium Monopoly (The). By Ellen N. La Motte. The Macmillan Company, New York.

Substitutes for the Saloon. By Raymond Calkins. Introduction by Francis G. Peabody. Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston.

What to Drink: The Blue Book of Beverages. Recipes and Directions for Making and Serving Non-Alcoholic Drinks for All Occasions. By Bertha E. L. Stockbridge. D. Appleton & Co., New York.

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THIS WEEK'S OUTLOOK

A WEEKLY OUTLINE STUDY OF CURRENT HISTORY[1]

BY J. MADISON GATHANY

SCARBOROUGH SCHOOL, SCARBOROUGH-ON-HUDSON, N. Y.

The Republican Convention

IN this issue The Outlook under several different headings gives an extended account of the Republican Convention at Chicago. Its readers will do well to read with great care these various articles.

Are you surprised and disappointed at the nomination of Senator Harding? Tell why or why not.

Which, in your opinion, was the most interesting personality in the Convention? One of my friends says, Mrs. Douglas Robinson. Have you read her speech seconding General Wood's nomination? If so, what do you think of her as a speech-maker? Note what Senator Lodge said about Mrs. Robinson's speech. What do you think of public speaking by women, anyway?

Does Senator Davenport in his article on another page show clearly that, to quote his own words, "from the Convention's own point of view, Harding was an entirely natural choice and more or less of an inevitable choice"?

Mr. Davenport refers several times to "Old Guardsmen." What is the big difference between a conservative and a reactionary? Are "Old Guardsmen" conservatives, reactionaries, or both? Would you call Senator Lodge himself an "Old Guardsman"?

Have you read the Republican platform? If so, what do you think of its labor plank? Do you think the Republicans "pussyfooted" on prohibition?

There are those who say that the nomination of Senator Harding shows that the Republican party has learned nothing from the 1912 bolt led by Theodore Roosevelt. Does his nomination indicate that this is so? Be sure that you think on all sides of this question before coming to a decision.

What is the position taken by the Chicago Convention on the Treaty and the League of Nations? Was this position taken wisely? Tell whether you are or are not in accord with it.

What, in your opinion, are the essential qualifications for the Presidency? In your opinion, does Senator Harding possess these qualifications?

There are those who believe that the result of the Republican National Convention and conditions within the Democratic party show the necessity of a third party in America. Do you consider this good reasoning?

In determining for whom to vote for President next November what should influence the voter most—party nominees as men, party platforms, or party records?

Is it, or is it not, too early for a voter already to have decided that he will or will not vote for Senator Harding for President? Do you think intelligent and patriotic citizens should come to a decision on such an important matter hastily?

From reading this issue of The Outlook are there indications that The Outlook has made up its mind which party should be supported in the coming Presidential campaign? Point out sentences which seem to prove your answer.

Wanted—More Capitalists

Note that the writer of the questions in this weekly study of current affairs considers this topic, written about so lucidly by Dr. Abbott, an exceedingly important matter, a matter which all Americans, but young Americans in particular, should study with thoughtfulness. The fundamental reason for this belief is the soundness and significance of the characterization of the American people made not long ago by Mr. Frank A. Vanderlip, who contributes an interesting article to this week's Outlook. His characterization was that the American people are "a Nation of economic illiterates." Of all things, that is what the people of a self-governing democracy should not be.

Are you an economic illiterate? Help to prove that you are not by answering these questions: What is wealth? What are capital, wages, dividends, rent, interest? Should land be distinguished from capital? Are buildings capital? Is fertilizer? To what economic class do the following belong: Weaving looms, a bank account, the reclaiming of arid lands, a pound of candy, a pair of shoes, a bushel of potatoes, a plug of tobacco?

America has many richer people and more rich people now than it had in 1914. Is this a good thing for America? For the other nations?

Dr. Lyman Abbott is certainly not a Bolshevist. Is he a Socialist? Does he believe in capitalism? Can you state his view of capitalists and why he believes we need more of them in three or four sentences?

How would you make clear to an individual seeking information on the subject a plan by which capitalism can be destroyed "by making it possible for every intelligent, industrious, able-bodied citizen to become a capitalist"?

Is it your duty to become a capitalist if you are not one already? If you are one, is it your duty to become a greater capitalist? Is it also your duty to help your neighbor to become a capitalist? Have you read the following books dealing with questions of political economy: "Elementary Principles of Economics," by Ely and Wicker (Macmillan); "Economic Democracy," by C. H. Douglas (Harcourt, Brace & Howe); "Principles of Political Economy," by Nixon Carver (Ginn & Co.); "Introduction to Political Economy," by A. S. Johnson (D. C. Heath).

The Second-Class Man

Who is a second-class man? Your answer to this question should be an explanation, not a mere definition. Illustrate freely.

Is a second-class man always a distinctly inferior man in the wide meaning of the term inferior?

Do you agree with The Outlook in its belief that "it is the very function of democracy to create as many second-class men as possible"?

[1] These questions and comments are designed not only for the use of current events classes and clubs, debating societies, teachers of history and English, and the like, but also for discussion in the home and for suggestions to any reader who desires to study current affairs as well as to read about them. —THE EDITORS.

To Readers of The Outlook

The Outlook is anxious to secure for republication the most representative cartoons. We want the cartoons which appeal to our readers as vital expressions of popular movements and public opinion. Won't you help us in our effort to secure such cartoons by cutting out the strongest drawings of cartoonists in your local papers and pasting one of the attached coupons on the back of each clipping. Then send your selection to the Cartoon Editor of The Outlook.

The Outlook is equally anxious to secure unusual news photographs; photographs which cannot be secured from the commercial photographers. If you have any photographs of local objects or events which appeal to you as of more than local interest, we hope you, as a friend and reader of The Outlook, will send them along to the Photograph Editor of The Outlook. Fill out and attach a coupon to the back of each photograph you desire to submit.

As an experiment we propose publishing these photograph and cartoon coupons in successive issues of The Outlook for a period of some weeks. No cartoons or photographs will be considered which are sent to us otherwise than in accordance with this notice. We are forced to make this a rigid rule as only by this method can we assure to our readers and friends that their photographs will be properly cared for and their cartoons given attention in the order of their arrival. We will pay for such cartoons and photographs as we use in accordance with the agreements printed on the coupons.

THE EDITORS OF THE OUTLOOK.
381 Fourth Ave., New York City

To the Cartoon Editor of The Outlook:

The attached cartoon is clipped from the ..... of the following date..... If it is the first clipping of this cartoon to reach The Outlook and is considered worthy of republication, I will accept One Dollar as payment in full for my service in bringing this cartoon to the attention of The Outlook. I agree that if it does not meet the above conditions this cartoon will not be returned nor will its receipt be acknowledged.

Name.....

Address.....

To the Photograph Editor of The Outlook:

The attached photograph is the property of the undersigned and is submitted for publication in The Outlook. Postage is enclosed for its return if unavailable. It is my understanding that The Outlook agrees to pay $3 for this photograph if reproduced as a half-page cut, or smaller, and $5 if reproduced in larger size than a half page. Enclosed herewith is a brief account of the object or event depicted in the attached photograph, which The Outlook is at liberty to use as it sees fit. My name and address are as follows:

Name.....

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50% slower yearly depreciation
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Cincinnati to Cleveland and return
(553 miles) in 15 hours, 45 min.—

Boston to Syracuse and return
(693 miles) in 24 hours, 20 min. Woman driver—

New York to Montreal
(398 miles) in 9 hours, 59 minutes—

Waterloo, Ia., non-stop,
dirt road record, (865.4 miles) in 24 hours—

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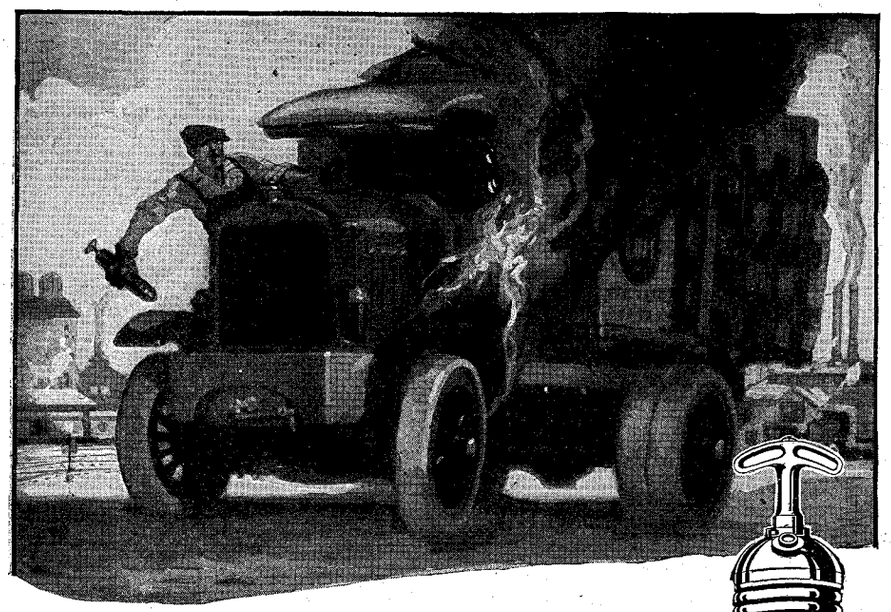

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THE NATION'S INDUSTRIAL PROGRESS

Believing that the advance of business is a subject of vital interest and importance, The Outlook will present under the above heading frequent discussions of subjects of industrial and commercial interest. This department will include paragraphs of timely interest and articles of educational value dealing with the industrial upbuilding of the Nation. Comment and suggestions are invited.

THE MOTOR TRUCK'S PART IN THE TERMINAL CONGESTION PROBLEM

BY R. E. FULTON
Vice-President of the International Motor Company

FREIGHT congestion is, in reality, terminal congestion. The present railway situation vividly demonstrates that the root of the much-discussed railway inadequacy lies more in the lack of proper terminal facilities than it does in the lack of freight cars. It has further proved that the motor truck, properly used in conjunction with railway terminals, can relieve terminal congestion and increase the productivity of each unit of the railway's rolling stock.

Although it is estimated that the railways of this country now need 500,000 more freight cars, it is obvious that, if this number of cars were put into service under existing terminal conditions, the confusion would only be increased.

Unfortunately, the majority of railway terminals were constructed in the days of horse-drawn highway transportation facilities, and no provision was made for the advent of the motor truck. At that time it was necessary for the railways to bring their freight within a radius of a day's team haul of its final destination, a distance considerably less than can now be covered by a motor truck. Cities have grown and traffic has increased, but the terminals have remained practically unchanged as far as distribution radius is concerned. As a result the railways are still attempting to operate on a horse-drawn basis of ultimate distribution, and consequently freight piles up in the yards and the tracks are filled with trains awaiting their turn to be unloaded. Although motor trucks are now being used to a large extent instead of horses, the platform area available for transferring shipments from the freight car to the truck is so confined that it is impossible to avoid congestion.

It is a fact that the average freight car travels only about six miles a day, and that this inefficiency can be attributed directly to wasted time through terminal congestion. Considering that we now have over 2,400,000 freight cars in use, it can be seen that every mile per day added to the productivity of this total by increasing terminal efficiency is the equivalent of four hundred thousand more cars. Thus it is obvious that if a continuous movement of freight cars to and from their terminal points can be obtained, a twofold advantage will result: first, eliminating the delay

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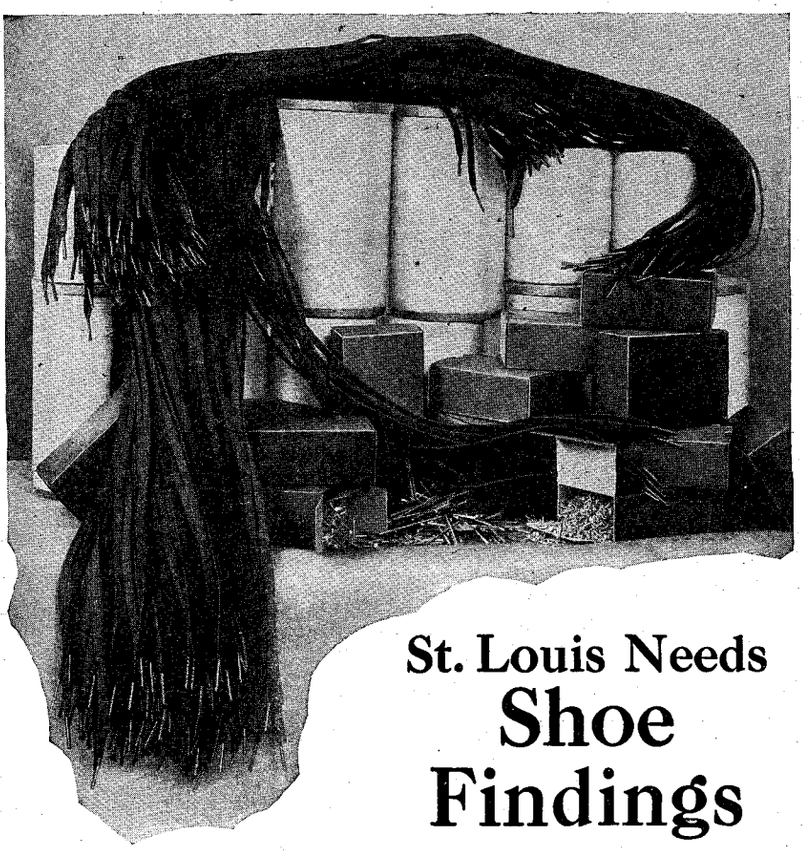
and waste incidental to congestions, and, second, releasing a vast number of cars for main-line traffic.

To say that this can be accomplished by utilizing the motor truck is not a mere prophecy—it is a proved reality. The few railways that have applied the use of trucks in their limited way to this problem have met with remarkable success, and should stand as uncompromising examples to every railway now affected by terminal congestion. For example, figures compiled by the United States Railroad Administration show that in the Big Four yards at Cincinnati the use of motor trucks with demountable bodies has reduced the time required per ton-mile for transfer shipments from twelve hours and eighteen minutes to less than three minutes. This saving of time is accompanied by a reduction of fifty cents per ton-mile on the cost of the transfer shipments. The New Jersey Central Railroad has adopted motor-truck service in connection with its Jersey City terminal in a way that indicates immense possibilities for minimizing congestion. This terminal became so congested during the recent general tie-up that it became useless to send loaded freight cars there. So Plainfield, New Jersey, a city near by, was made a terminal point, and goods are now being transferred there to motor trucks and hauled into Jersey City and other destination points.

This idea of diverting shipments, while not a new one, has up to the present been confined to emergency use. It seems logical, however, that the diverting principle presents the most practicable means for permanently relieving the railways of terminal congestion. By establishing subterminals at the outskirts of large cities on the various lines of approach, freight loads could be transferred to motor trucks and delivered to the consignees far more rapidly and economically than at present. This method would also relieve street traffic in the congested parts of large cities because (1) the terminals would then be adapted to use the more rapid and flexible moving motor truck instead of horse-drawn equipment; (2) the number of vehicles bringing and receiving goods at terminals would be divided in their operations to different parts of the city; and (3) the large capacity trucks could be utilized for handling car-load lots, in this way minimizing the number of vehicles required to handle transfers.

The motor truck is now a permanent supplement to the railways and has proved its capacity to take over the short-haul traffic, which has developed to be time-wasting and unprofitable business for them. By "feeding" short-haul shipments to the main-line traffic it has released thousands of cars for long-distance transportation and has done much toward relieving congestion at terminals. But the development of this co-operative relation between the railway and the motor truck is still in its infant stages.

It is but natural to expect that before long the railway terminals of this country will be reorganized and adapted to obtain the full benefits of the economies and conveniences offered by the motor truck. The sooner we lend our energies to achieving a possibility instead of throwing up our hands in despair and waiting for a prodigious number of cars to spring up from nowhere, the better the transportation interests of the entire country will be served.



St. Louis Needs Shoe Findings

ST. LOUIS, the largest shoe center in the world, lacks factories for the manufacture of shoe findings—such as laces, threads, shanks, hooks, nails, tacks, eyelets, buttons, heels, rubber heels, cloth linings, etc. These products must now be bought in the East. Most of the raw materials are shipped from the Mississippi Valley, manufactured in the East, and shipped back to the world's greatest shoe city—St. Louis.

The output of shoes in St. Louis this year will total approximately $175,000,000. The St. Louis shoe manufacturers spend more than $10,000,000 annually for shoe findings. A Mid-West factory in St. Louis could supply the trade here and economically reach all Mississippi Valley, South, Southwest, Middle West, and Far West markets from this central distribution point. Shoe findings is but one of the following sixteen industries St. Louis is seeking:

Malleable iron castings
Farm implements
Rubber products
Screw machine products
Locomotive works
Blast furnaces
Cork products
Small hardware
Shoe laces and findings
Cotton spinning and textile mills
Dye stuffs
Steel and copper wire
Machine tools and tool machinery
Automobile accessories and parts
Drop forge plants
Tanneries and leather products

Splendid St. Louis opportunities in these lines await enterprising men of practical experience and ample capital. The booklet, "St. Louis as a Manufacturing Center," will interest you. A letter will bring it. Address

Director New Industries Bureau

St. Louis Chamber of Commerce

St. Louis, U. S. A.

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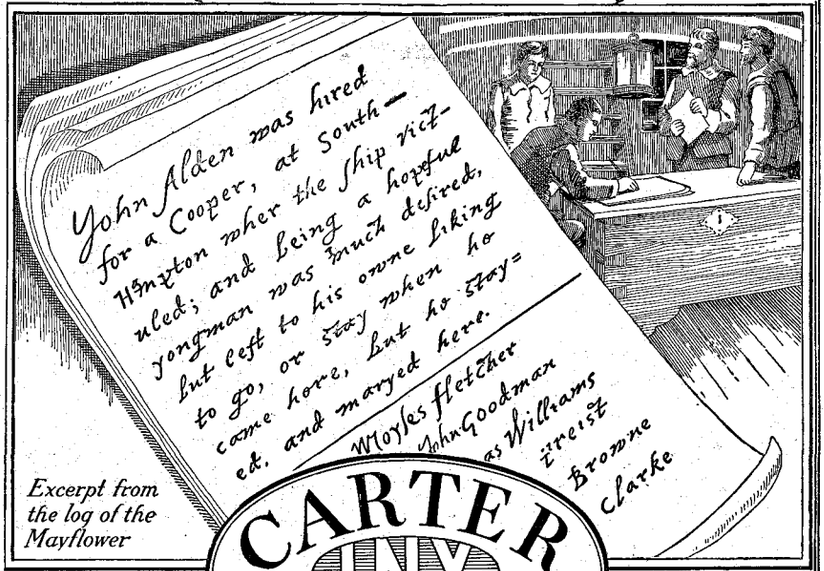
HISTORICAL MANUSCRIPTS—No. 4



Excerpt from the log of the Mayflower

CARTER INX PRODUCTS

WITH the scientific side of ink making, the research work, the gathering of various materials from all parts of the world, the care and precision required in transforming these materials, there sometimes comes a thought of the tales Carter's Writing Fluid may preserve for the coming generations. Of this we feel certain, the lines will never fade and with its clear, rich blue and its even, steady flow, the writer will find much pleasure in the writing.

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Your signature represents you
Do it in CARTER'S

"THE FOLLY OF THE OUIJA BOARD"—A REPLY

I have just read in The Outlook of April 28 the article by Dr. Eleanor Crosby Kemp entitled "The Folly of the Ouija Board."

That an enormous amount of folly and self-deception have attached themselves to the practices in vogue with the ouija board no intelligent person can deny. That the ouija board can under *no* circumstances be of use as an instrument, or medium, for the transmission of messages from those no longer clothed with a material body, is an assertion which some serious-minded seekers after the truth may wish to challenge. But that "the folly of the ouija board" should be used as a point of departure from which to damn all psychic research; that those whose hearts have been wrung by the taking from this world of those nearest and dearest to them should be classed as idlers, neurotics, or psychopaths because they desire to know if their dear ones still live and love, and, if so, by what means, if any, communication can be established with them, is hardly credible at the present stage of psychic knowledge.

I quote Dr. Kemp's closing paragraph:

"It is up to each one of us to play the game fairly *within the lines*, wasting no energy in gazing vacantly over the fence. Those who have time for such are either idlers, neurotics, or psychopaths. Those who play the game of life fairly have little time for ouija board séances, lectures on the unseen, etc. *Work* is the order of this our day of reconstruction; and if real pleasure is to be ours, let us honestly study some of the great simple facts which science has revealed. There is no pleasure equal to self-knowledge. Time spent in acquiring it makes us more fit, instead of less fit, for life's battles here. The great teachers of all time, who saw further than we do, taught us to take the hereafter on faith. This attitude of mind science says to-day is psychologically sound and biologically true to the order of life's development."

If I knew I were going to spend many years of my life in a foreign country—say India—the manners and customs of which were foreign to me, should I be accused of "wasting energy in gazing vacantly over the fence" if I spent some time in informing myself about its geography and history, the methods of reaching it, and the conditions of daily life which I might expect to find there? Or, had I merely friends or relatives residing in India, might I not be excused for showing considerable interest in the affairs of that country? Yet all of us have some friends and relatives in the spirit world, and it is a journey which each one of us will take, sooner or later, without fail; nevertheless, although the author acknowledges that there is a hereafter, since she tells us that it is to be taken on faith, we are charged with not playing the game fairly if we spend time on lectures on the unseen.

We are told that "*work* is the order of this our day of reconstruction, and if real pleasure is to be ours let us honestly study some of the great simple facts which science has revealed." Sir Oliver Lodge, in his inaugural address before the British Association for the Advancement of Science in 1913, said, in substance: "There is a whole vast field of phenomena yet uninvestigated which must shortly claim the attention of the scientific world. I refer to the field of psychic research." If a gentleman of such acknowledged standing as to

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be honored with the presidency of one of the leading scientific societies of the world finds the field of psychic research worthy of the serious attention of his brother scientist, is the intelligent layman, then, utterly wasting his energy when he aspires to walk hand in hand with the scientist while he is in the process of revealing some of these great simple facts?

The pleasure of self-knowledge is indeed great, and it would be hard to find more fundamental or pertinent questions in connection with the search for that knowledge than the age-old ones: What is life? Whence does it come? Whither does it lead?

There may have been many exhortations by the great teachers of all time to take the hereafter on faith, but it is my understanding that both Christ and his disciples sought to give us tangible evidence of the continuity of existence. The whole of the life of Christ is based on psychic phenomena. The New Testament teems with revelations of the unseen. That the study of the unseen is a subject worthy of our time and work and most thoughtful investigation is amply attested by the lives and work of men of such unquestioned standing in the world of science and learning as Flammarion, Lombroso, Russel Wallace, Myers, William James, Sir Oliver Lodge, Sir William Crookes, etc.

The only attitude of mind of which science approves is the open mind. It investigates all evidence and endeavors to form deductions and establish laws therefrom. The evidences of survival of bodily death and of communication with the unseen are too great to be lightly swept aside with ouija boards and charlatans. They rest firmly rooted in the daily experience of thousands, and are a proper field for the investigations of scientist and layman.

EDITH L. C. MATTHES.

Washington, D. C.

THE SPELLING OF FOREIGN NAMES

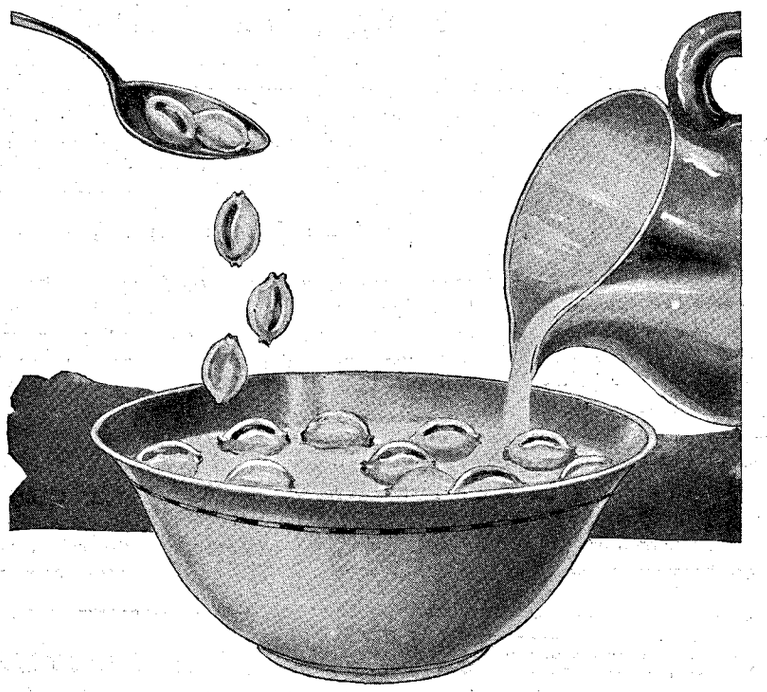
Some weeks ago The Outlook printed a note on the impending change of spelling certain geographical names from the German to other forms. Particularly referred to were Strassburg, to be changed to the French Strasbourg, and Schleswig to the Danish Slesvig.

Now Strassburg is not German, but English. The Germans spell it Straszburg. It would be as pedantic to write Strasbourg now as to have written Straszburg a few years ago in English. As for the other name, there was never any justification for writing Schleswig; that region has a good English name, Sleswick, and it should be kept. The German, French, or Danish forms are as much out of place as Oesterreich would be for Austria.

We should use the English spellings and pronunciations where they exist, and extend their use whenever possible. Checkoslavia is preferable to Czechoslovakia, but Bohemia is infinitely better than either. The same principle holds in the transliteration of Russian or other names printed in the Cyrillic alphabet. They should be so written as to represent the native pronunciation according to English orthographic usage, without pedantic refinements, and with no reference to German, Polish, or Bohemian spellings, which are based on different principles.

H. RAYMOND.

Dudley Observatory, Albany, New York.



An Invention

which has revolutionized July

Think how many new delights Prof. Anderson gave summer when he invented Puffed Grains.

The milk dish now has Puffed Wheat floating in it—thin, flimsy, toasted bubbles of whole wheat.

Breakfast brings the choice of three Puffed Grains, each with its own fascinations.

Puffed Rice now adds to berries what crust adds to a shortcake. Or a nut-like garnish to ice cream. And between meals hungry children get some Puffed Grain crisped and buttered.

Every day in summer, millions of people now enjoy these supreme food delights.

But don't treat them like mere tidbits

These flaky, flavory bubble grains seem like food confections. But two are whole-grain foods, remember. And all are scientific.

They are made by steam explosion. Every food cell is thus blasted so digestion is easy and complete.

They are the best-cooked cereals in existence—the only cereals so ideally fitted to digest.

They are all-hour foods. They make whole-grain foods tempting. Let children find them handy, morning, noon and night.

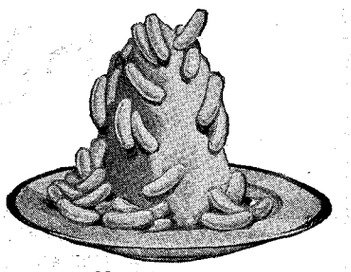
Puffed Wheat

Puffed Rice

Corn Puffs

All bubble grains

Also puffed rice pancake flour



Now ice cream
Is garnished with these airy, nut-like bubbles.

The Quaker Oats Company

Sole Makers

(3398)

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FINANCIAL DEPARTMENT

The Financial Department is prepared to furnish information regarding standard investment securities, but cannot undertake to *advise* the purchase of any specific security. It will give to inquirers facts of record or information resulting from expert investigation, and a nominal charge of one dollar per inquiry will be made for this special service. All letters of inquiry should be addressed to THE OUTLOOK FINANCIAL DEPARTMENT, 381 Fourth Avenue, New York.

BUYING THEMSELVES RICH

IN the course of a recent conversation a banker made the statement that lots of people at the present time were buying themselves rich. The conversation was about investments and the particular topic under discussion the investment opportunities presented by current quotations. They seem exceptional, to say the least, and what this banker meant by his remark is that the people who are taking advantage of them are buying securities which later on should show handsome profits. These people have no thought of speculating, nor can any one accuse them of profiteering if they make unusual profits. They are merely people who recognize an opportunity when they see it, who have accumulated funds for investment, and now that their chance has come are taking advantage of it. In the opinion of many men who are in a position to know, investments may be had to-day at prices which will not be seen again during this generation. There is little cause for suspecting that their opinion is a mistaken one.

How can these things be? you ask. Everything is topsyturvy in the world to-day, and in this country business and industrial conditions are everywhere upset. At this point it might not be amiss to recall the old and familiar story of the young man who came to a member of the famous banking family of Rothschild in Paris. It was at the time of the Paris Commune in 1871. This young man had just inherited a large sum of money and wanted advice about investing it. His conversation with the banker ran some-

July Investments That Set the Standard

TIMES like these demand the highest standards of safety and conservatism on the part of investors who wish to make sure of protecting themselves against loss. In this period of readjustment, every July investor should test securities by the severest tests, and select only those which are intrinsically 100% sound and whose record entitles them to full confidence.

Realizing these conditions, and building on the basis of our record of thirty-eight years without loss to any investor, S. W. Straus & Co. have selected and safeguarded a well-diversified list of the strongest and safest first mortgage 6% bond issues, secured by various properties in the largest cities of the country. These investments set the standard which the times demand and will meet every test.

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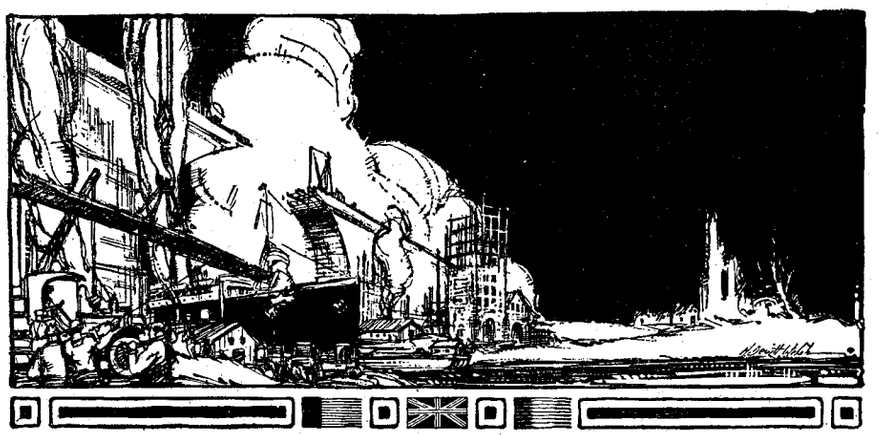
what as follows: "Buy all the French *rentes* you can get," the banker advised him. "Why," exclaimed the astonished young man, "the streets of Paris are running red with blood." "That," replied the banker, "is why it is possible to buy *rentes* at such ridiculously low prices." If the young man took the shrewd old banker's advice, he "bought himself rich."

If *rentes*, which are French Government bonds, sold at ridiculously low prices then, what shall we say of United States Government bonds now? If anything having to do with investments is certain, certain it is that the man who buys Liberty Bonds at present quotations is going to make a handsome profit. And at this point a quotation from the financial page of the New York "Tribune" seems particularly pertinent:

> The present is an unhappy time for those who must go into the open market-place and borrow money. But conversely it comes close to being the golden age for folk with funds to invest. The Federal Reserve agent rightly observes in his current monthly report to the Federal Reserve Board on business conditions in this district that "there seldom has been such an opportunity for remunerative saving as now, when a given sum if spent will buy so little and if saved and invested will yield such large returns. Liberty Bonds, for example, are now selling at market prices which for the taxable issues yield from about 5 per cent to 6¼ per cent. They are the safest and most readily salable of all investments. Should prices later come down, a part of the savings invested in them will then buy the thing which would cost all of the savings if bought now." In times of high prices nothing is so cheap as fixed maturity obligations. The present is a profitable time for the lender to contract new loans and for the borrower to discharge old obligations with existing cheap money.

All the investment opportunities to-day are not confined to Government bonds, however. They are the safest, of course, but there are railway and industrial bonds to be had at unheard-of prices, seasoned securities on which interest has always been paid promptly and regularly, which have always been regarded as "gilt edged," the kind of bonds suitable for trust funds, where safety of principal must be the first consideration. Take the case of railway bonds. Railways are absolutely essential to the welfare of the country, and if they cease to function all our industrial life will also come to an end. There is no question about this. How valuable, then, must railways be. And how valuable must be the bonds which are secured by this property. New railway issues are being offered at most attractive prices, and there is no question about many of them being good investments. At the same time, there are other and older railway bonds which to many investors seem even more attractive than these new issues. Some of them are first liens and mortgages on the lines, bonds which seem entirely safe, which offer a straight yield almost as high as the recent issues, and in addition hold out the possibility of profit through the appreciation of their selling price. Many of them are long-term bonds, so that the man who buys them to-day should get the benefit of a high return on his investment over a considerable period of years, and when the bonds mature and their face value is paid, the actual cash received should show quite a profit on the original investment.

Many bonds have declined in price, not because there is anything wrong with them intrinsically, but because of money rates; quotations for all standard securities are



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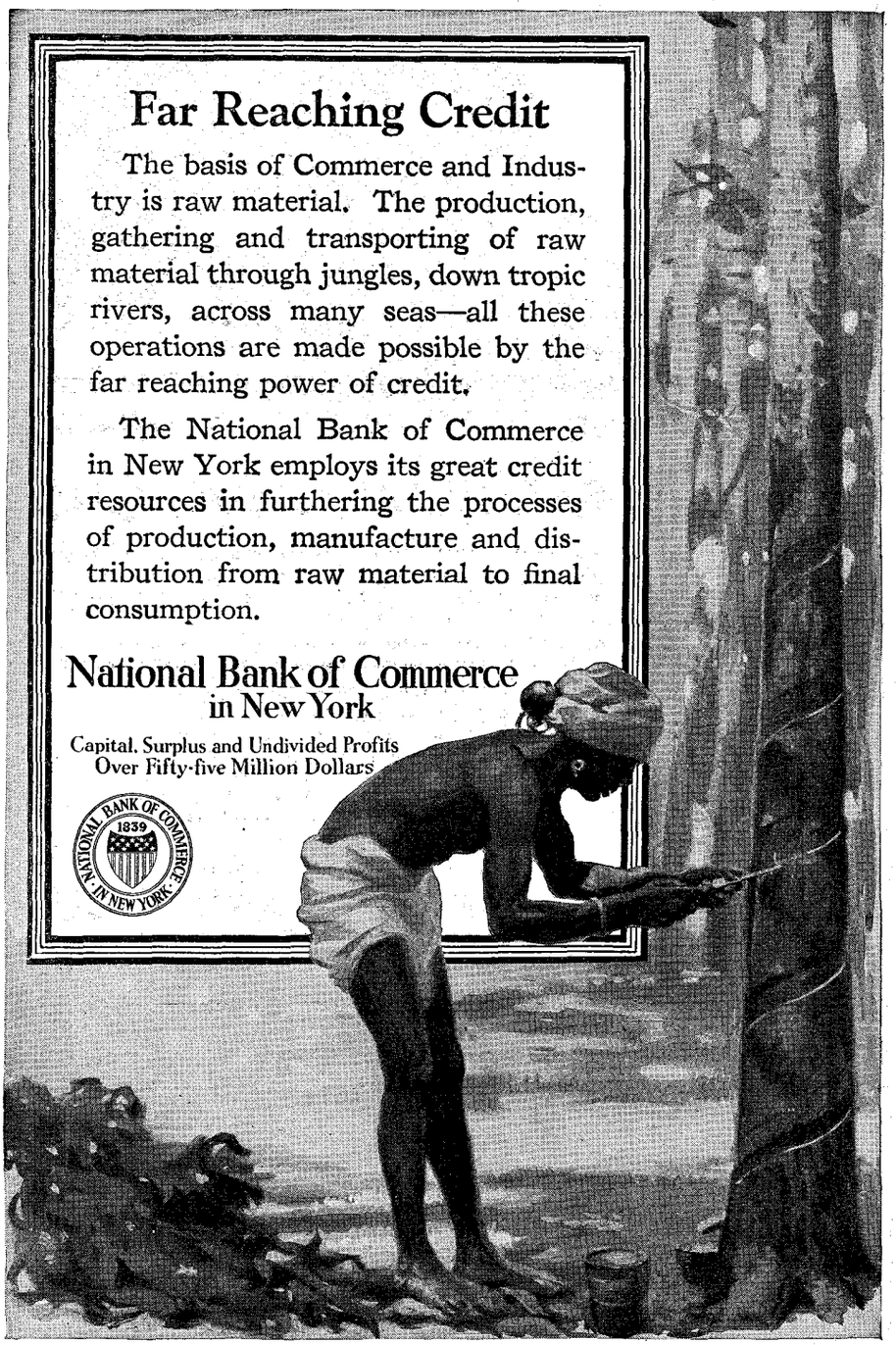
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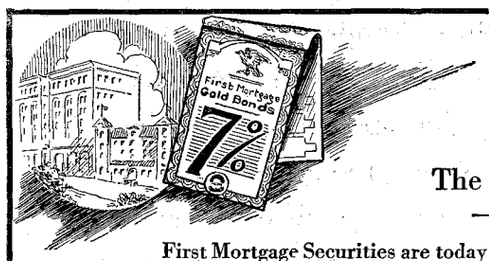

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FINANCIAL DEPARTMENT
(Continued)

low, and they have gone down in sympathy with the rest. If the money situation changes, and it looks as if the change were already taking place, the price of securities will advance. Not all securities, of course, but certainly it seems safe to say that this will be true of the best grade. It is highly probable, therefore, that a careful selection of bonds at present prices should afford the investor a larger income than he is apt to get later, an income that should keep up for many years to come, and be extremely helpful if, as is expected, the purchasing power of money is increased. The discriminating investor may not in the literal sense "buy himself rich," but isn't there something in what the New York "Tribune" says about this being "a golden age for folk with funds to invest"?

The Kingdom of Belgium has recently sold in this country $50,000,000 twenty-five year external 7½ per cent gold bonds, offered at 97¼ and interest. If these bonds were to be paid off at maturity at 100, the income return would be 7¾ per cent, but the Belgian Government agrees to redeem them at 115 and interest—$2,000,000 each year. The yield, therefore, will range from 24.89 per cent on those bonds called in 1921 to 7.95 per cent on the bonds held till maturity in 1945. This may seem an exorbitant rate of interest for Belgium to have to pay, but if exchange should return to normal inside of ten years the cost of this loan to the Belgian Government would be less than 3½ per cent. The principal, premium, and interest are payable in New York in United States gold coin. Bonds are issued in coupon form in denominations of $1,000 and $500. To show how well regarded the Belgian Government's credit is, the 3 per cent Perpetual Bonds of Belgium sold in Brussels during the years 1901–7 at prices to yield not over 3.15 per cent; in the years 1908–12 not over 4 per cent; and at the present time are selling in Brussels to yield approximately 4.90 per cent. The 5 per cent Monetary Restoration Loan, due 1921, issued after the armistice, sold in Brussels on April 30 at 99.

QUESTION AND ANSWER

Q. Please give me some information about the bonds known as the Allied Packers 6s.

A. There are $16,000,000 of these bonds outstanding out of $25,000,000 authorized. They are redeemable at 110 and interest on any interest date upon sixty days' notice; also convertible into common stock at the rate of thirteen shares of common for each thousand-dollar bond. In case the company sells for cash or offers for subscription new stock at less than $77 a share in addition to the 450,000 shares now authorized, bondholders may convert their holdings at the price per share at which the stock is to be sold or offered for subscription. A sinking fund is provided for, beginning December 31, 1921, and annually thereafter, of two per cent of all the bonds issued. They are a direct obligation of the company, but are not secured by any mortgage. Quick assets, however, must be maintained equal to at least 150 per cent of current liabilities and net quick assets equal to at least 50 per cent of the principal amount of bonds outstanding. The consolidated companies conduct a general packing business. One subsidiary is the largest meat distributer in New England and another the largest packing-house in Canada.

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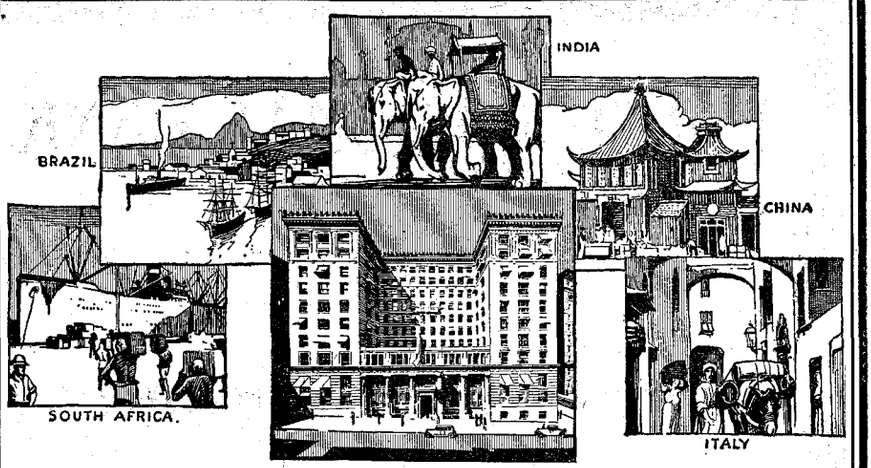

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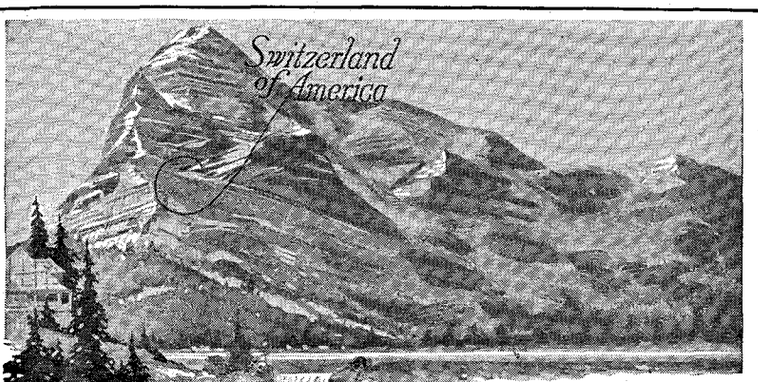

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Write for descriptive literature and Aeroplane map of Glacier National Park, and Summer Tourist Fares, or inquire of nearest ticket or tourist agent.

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BY THE WAY

Somehow a note in the "Industrial Student" of Camp Hill, Alabama, takes one back to the days when one got—oh! so hungry before dinner time. It begins: "Four loaves of bread and a small pitcher of syrup if you can spare it." The request was made to a Southern housekeeper, and when she found that the "snack" was for a party of boys out cutting logs for a new schoolhouse no doubt she rose to the occasion. The boys had had their breakfast, the paragraph states, at 5:45 A.M., and at 9:30 they were hungry again and their leader sent the smallest boy to get bread and molasses as a "stayer" for his eager workers. "At the end of the day," says the editor, "one boy told me that he and his partner would undertake to cut fifty logs the following Saturday. I said in my heart that I would invest my last dollar in such boys as these."

The steamship Yarmouth has the distinction of being the only vessel owned and manned exclusively by colored men. She is the property of the Universal Negro Improvement Association, which numbers among its members Negroes from all over the country. Thirteen hundred of her owners recently inspected the vessel on a visit which she made to the port of Boston.

Three great tunnels are to pierce the Continental Divide and render the long climb over the Rockies unnecessary. They will, if the people of Colorado approve at the next election, be bored through James Peak on the Denver and Salt Lake Railway and through Cumbres Pass and Marshall Pass on the Denver and Rio Grande. The scenery of the new route will be monotonous, but not more so than the exasperating glimpses of mountain views which one gets through snow-sheds.

The author of a book called "When I Was a Boy in Persia" says that certain rugs used in Persian houses have not yet found a place in the American market. These are large felt carpets called "lumta." They are made, not by weaving, but by beating the wool together and then pressing it. They are very thick, warm, and noiseless, with red, cream, and white borders, and with a field dotted with red, black, white, green, blue, and golden circles of wool—quite a Joseph's coat in color.

A famous tragedy of the American Revolution, which indirectly perhaps led to its success, is brought to mind by a newspaper item which says: "Major-General Townshend, lately of the British army, will take part in Memorial Day ceremonies at Fort Ticonderoga, when the bones of Major Duncan Campbell will be disinterred and reburied in the lot where lie those of Jane McRea Murdock, killed by Indians in 1777." Jane McCrea was an American girl who was engaged to an English officer. In an attempt to pass from the American to the English lines to meet him she was intercepted, the story goes, by rival parties of Indians, who in a quarrel over her custody killed and scalped their prisoner. The indignation excited by her fate led to a large increase in the American forces, who soon afterward defeated General Burgoyne in a deciding battle of the Revolution.

Bacon and eggs, despite the high price of both edibles, continue to form the Englishman's regulation breakfast. "Oh, the

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joy of returning to bacon and eggs!" writes a patriotic Briton in the London "Sphere." "After an absence in alien lands, the phenomenon which most sharply stabs me with the glad-to-be-back emotion is that of bacon and eggs for breakfast.... In New York and Boston it was pleasant to sample 'cereals'—queer, puddingy messes which one would have looked at askance in London. . . . At a hotel in Amsterdam I observed on my tray a plate containing (apparently) thin slices of lean ham. And I said to myself, 'Have I at last reached a foreign country where the pig's flesh is deemed a breakfast ration as inevitably and respectfully as in my own home?' On investigation I found that the slices were not slices of ham, but slices of a pinkish-hued cheese! . . . The aroma of sizzling rashers! Ah, it is a poignant pang of recognition—recognition of the perfect food!"

"What is your favorite book?" asks the humorist of the Kansas City "Star." "My bank book," was his friend's reply, "but even that is lacking in interest these days."

There are fashions in forgery, it seems, according to an article in the "Saturday Evening Post." Forgery of signatures has largely gone out; the expert criminal who used to sign another man's name to a check has given this up; he now gets a genuine check and devotes his art to "raising" the amount or changing the name of the payee. The ingenuity of such "artful dodgers" almost passes belief. They fill perforations in checks with pulp; take out ink with acids; iron out corrugated figures; retint and resurface the paper and put in a larger amount with the same machine that was originally used to defeat their nefarious efforts. One of these gentry could even tear a check in two and then restore it so that detectives failed to find the break.

From "Karikaturen," Christiania, Norway:

"*If they had lived to-day:*

"1. Columbus—'What! Eggs sixpence each? I'll not perform the famous experiment.'

"2. Diogenes—'What! One pound for that old tub? The housing question affects even me."

"3. Achilles—'What! Eight shillings to mend that heel? Why, I'll run the risk of getting wounded instead.'

"4. Lot—'Turn round, wife! We could do with a fresh supply of salt at the present price!'"

From "Kasper," Stockholm, Sweden:

"Does your wife open your letters?"

"Not business letters. Only letters with 'Private' on them."

From "Klod Hans," Copenhagen, Denmark:

"A gentleman has been here who was very angry with you, sir. He said he would warm your ears."

"What did you tell him?"

"I told him I was sorry you were not at home."

From the "Passing Show," London:

Mistress—"Now, Ada, I want you to show us what you can do to-night. We have a few very special friends coming for a musical evening."

Cook—"Well, mum, I 'aven't done any singin' to speak of for years, but as you insists upon it you can put me down for 'The 'Oly City.'"

Why They Are Economically Priced

BUILT by skilled, well-paid, progressive workers—

With the most modern equipment and time- and labor-saving appliances—

In what is conceded to be one of the most up-to-date rubber plants in the industry.

Marketed under a zone selling system which efficiently distributes an ever-growing volume with true merchandising economy.

Tire buyers are therefore privileged to buy Vacuum Cup Cord and Fabric Tires and "Ton Tested" Tubes *at the price of ordinary makes.*

See your local Pennsylvania dealer and be convinced.

Adjustment basis—per warranty tag attached to each casing

Vacuum Cup Fabric Tires, 6,000 Miles
Vacuum Cup Cord Tires, 9,000 Miles
Chanv l Tread Cord Tires, 9,000 Miles

PENNSYLVANIA RUBBER COMPANY
Jeannette, Pa.

Direct Factory Branches and Service Agencies Throughout the United States and Canada

Export Dept., Woolworth Bldg., New York City

Pennsylvania
VACUUM CUP
CORD TIRES

HELP WANTED!

Are you in need of a Mother's Helper, Companion, Nurse, Governess, Teacher, Business or Professional Assistant?

The Classified Want Department of The Outlook has for many years offered to subscribers a real service. A small advertisement in this department will bring results.

The rate is only ten cents per word, including address.

Department of Classified Advertising
THE OUTLOOK COMPANY, 381 Fourth Ave., N. Y.

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THE OUTLOOK CLASSIFIED ADVERTISING SECTION

Advertising Rates: Hotels and Resorts, Apartments, Tours and Travel, Real Estate, etc., sixty cents per agate line, four columns to the page. Not less than four lines accepted. In calculating space required for an advertisement, count an average of six words to the line unless display type is desired.

"Want" advertisements, under the various headings, "Board and Rooms," "Help Wanted," etc., ten cents for each word or initial, **including the address, for each insertion.** The first word of each "Want" advertisement is set in capital letters without additional charge. Other words may be set in capitals, if desired, at double rates. If answers are to be addressed in care of The Outlook, **twenty-five cents** is charged for the box number named in the advertisement. Replies will be forwarded by us to the advertiser and bill for postage rendered. Special headings appropriate to the department may be arranged for on application.

Orders and copy for Classified Advertisements must be received with remittance ten days before the date of issue when it is intended the advertisement shall first appear.

Address: ADVERTISING DEPARTMENT, THE OUTLOOK, 381 FOURTH AVENUE, NEW YORK CITY

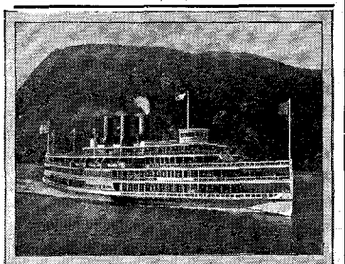
Tours and Travel

Now it's
SWITZERLAND
again
The land of unlimited possibilities for the vacationist.
Write for Packet No. 103, containing the Hotel Guide, descriptive booklets and maps, enclosing 10c postage.
SWISS FEDERAL RAILROADS
241 Fifth Ave., New York

TRIP TO EUROPE FOR BOYS
Manager: Matthieu Jetteur, M.A., Asheville School, Asheville, N. C.
Directors: Jack Reardon, B.A., of Taft School; Theodore Johnson, M.A., of Bingham School; S. E. Culver, M.A., of Hotchkiss School.
Announcement on request to Mr. Jetteur.

Europe and the Battlefields
38 Tours—Exceptional Variety in Routes and Prices
American Travel Club, Box O, Wilmington, Del.

One Who Knows Europe
Professor in a New York college, graduate of an English college, knows France, Italy, Switzerland, Belgium, Germany, Spain thoroughly, will accompany family or take boys abroad for summer. Knowing customs of countries will save money and annoyance. Terms reasonable. 2,815, Outlook.



Hudson River by Daylight
THE Hudson River trip is one of the great natural wonders of America. You will enjoy it particularly well because of the excellent Day Line service. Comfort and charm surround you on the wide cool decks of luxurious steamers.
Attractive one-day outings. Steamers run until Oct. 24th. Service daily including Sunday
Hudson River Day Line
Desbrosses St. Pier New York

Tours and Travel

JAPAN
Are you interested in it?
If so, write to Secretary
JAPAN HOTEL ASSOCIATION
Care Traffic Dept.
IMPERIAL GOVERNMENT RAILWAYS
TOKYO
for 120-page Guide Book Free
When writing please mention "Outlook."

BENNETT'S TRAVEL BUREAU
The Great West—Canadian Rockies—Alaska—Japan—China
AROUND THE WORLD
506 Fifth Ave., New York. Vanderbilt 5348

INTERCOLLEGIATE TOURS
EUROPE
EDUCATION-TRAVEL-RECREATION
PRICES MODERATE
1021 LITTLE BUILDING-BOSTON

TOUR NEW ENGLAND
SEND A 2c. STAMP TO THE BANCROFT, WORCESTER, MASS., FOR COMPLETE ITINERARY OF NEW ENGLAND'S HISTORICAL POINTS OF INTEREST & FAMOUS BEAUTY SPOTS. ADDRESS DEPT. O.

Hotels and Resorts

CANADA

"HIGHLANDS of ONTARIO" Hay Fever Unknown
One thousand to two thousand feet above the sea. Modern hotels in Algonquin Park, Muskoka Lakes, Georgian Bay, Lake of Bays, Kawartha Lakes, and Timagami. Fishing, boating, bathing, golf, etc. Write for free illustrated literature.
C. G. Orttenburger, Desk "X"
907 Merchants Loan & Trust Bldg.
Chicago, Ill.
A. B. Chown, Desk "X"
1270 Broadway
New York, N. Y.
GRAND TRUNK RAILWAY SYSTEM

CONNECTICUT

INTERLAKEN INN Lakeville, Conn.
Between two lakes; fishing, bathing, golf, tennis; excellent table. Write Manager.

The Wayside Inn
New Milford, Litchfield Co., Conn.
In the foothills of the Berkshires. Open all the year. An ideal place for your summer's rest. 2 hours from New York. Write for booklet. Mrs. J. E. CASTLE, Proprietor.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

The Hamilton 14th & K Sts., N. W.
WASHINGTON, D. C.
A Select Family and Transient Hotel
Ideal Location. Modern appointments and Home-like. Good table. American plan $3.50 up daily; special rates by week. Booklet. IRVING O. BALL, Proprietor.

MAINE

THE HOMESTEAD
BAILEY ISLAND, ME. Open June 15 to Sept. 15. Air, scenes and table all of the best. Booklet on application. M. J. DURIE

Hotels and Resorts

MAINE

"The Firs" and "Camp Penobscot"
DEER ISLE, MAINE
Hotel, Tents, Cottages, Cabins—Woods and Shore. "Keep the family together." Camp privileges, supervised sports, and expert tutoring (if desired) for the boys. Rates moderate. S. B. KNOWLTON, Haverford, Pa.

YORK CAMPS LOON LAKE, MAINE. J. Lewis York, Prop.
Famous Rangeley region heart of mountains facing lake. Log cabins, baths, open fires, central dining-room. Garage, golf near by, boating, bathing, fishing. Fresh vegetables, eggs, poultry, milk. Booklet.

OGUNQUIT, MAINE
HIGH ROCK HOTEL
Near Beach and Pine Woods

THE OCEAN HOUSE, YORK BEACH, ME. Leading hotel. Fine location. All conveniences. Excellent cuisine. Comfortable and homelike. Golf, tennis, beautiful drives, bathing and fishing. Ideal spot for children. Booklet. W. J. SIMPSON.

MASSACHUSETTS

HOTEL PURITAN
Commonwealth Ave. Boston
THE DISTINCTIVE BOSTON HOUSE
Globe Trotters call the Puritan one of the most homelike hotels in the world.
Your inquiries gladly answered and our booklet mailed
O'Costello-Mgr.

If You Are Tired or Need a Change
you cannot find a more comfortable place in New England than
THE WELDON HOTEL
GREENFIELD, MASSACHUSETTS
It affords all the comforts of home without extravagance.

MARBLEHEAD, MASS.
THE LESLIE
A quiet, cosy little house by the sea.
Private baths. Descriptive booklet.

WHITE HOUSE INN
91 Elm Street, Northampton, Mass.
Season July 1 to Sept. 8. Reservations may be made now. Detailed information upon application to Mrs. M. V. BURGESS.

CRESCENT INN
NORTHAMPTON, MASS.
Transient and Permanent Guests Accommodated
Exclusive Clientele Open All Year
Quiet Location Excellent Cuisine
Few minutes' walk from Smith College.

BEACH HOUSE
Siasconset, Mass.
NANTUCKET ISLAND
Golfers' Summer Paradise
Best 18-hole seashore course in U. S.
Tennis, surf bathing, etc.
No Malaria. No Hay Fever. No Hot Days
American Plan Moderate Rates
MERWIN J. BULKLEY, Proprietor

WILLIAMSTOWN
BERKSHIRE HILLS, MASSACHUSETTS
THE GREYLOCK
At the Western End of the Mohawk Trail
NOW OPEN
SEND FOR COPY OF
"Williamstown the Village Beautiful"

NEW HAMPSHIRE

Dexter Richards Hall
A comfortable Inn on a hilltop. 1,000 feet elevation. July and August. Weekly rates $15 to $25. Booklet.
MERIDEN, N. H.
"The Bird Village"

Hotels and Resorts

NEW YORK CITY

Hotel Le Marquis
12 East 31st Street
New York
Combines every convenience and home comfort, and commends itself to people of refinement wishing to live on American Plan and be within easy reach of social and dramatic centers.
Rates with Illustrated Booklet gladly sent upon request. JOHN P. TOLSON.

HOTEL JUDSON 53 Washington Square
adjoining Judson Memorial Church. Rooms with and without bath. Rates $3.50 per day, including meals. Special rates for two weeks or more. Location very central. Convenient to all elevated and street car lines.

NEW YORK

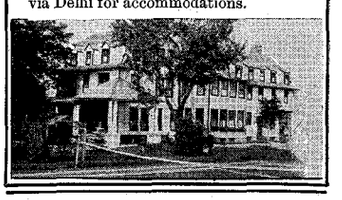
Adirondacks At Keene Valley, N. Y. "Edgewood." Accom. 10. Private. Affords fine fishing, golf, tennis and mt. climbing. Rates $18 to $21. Apply W. H. OTIS.

ADIRONDACKS
KEENE VALLEY INN, Keene Valley, N. Y.
Altitude 1,200 ft. Fresh vegetables. Very heart of mts. $17 a week and up. Special rates for season. Write for booklet. ORLANDO BEEDE, Mgr

BLUE MOUNTAIN HOUSE
Blue Mountain Lake, N. Y.
Now open. High elevation. Beautiful mountain and lake scenery. Boating, fishing, autoing, etc. Illustrated booklet. M. T. Merwin, Prop.

HOW would you like to live for 2 or 3 weeks or months, in cottage or hotel, on a strip of land
VIRTUALLY SIX MILES AT SEA?
Where there are congenial neighbors and all of the conveniences of home. Where the breeze seldom stops blowing; where boating, bathing and fishing are daily pastimes and where the cost is reasonable. Do you know that
POINT O' WOODS, L. I.
only 50 miles from New York, is such a place?
Direct inquiries to C. W. NASH, Supt., Point O' Woods, L. I.

MEREDITH INN
IN THE CATSKILLS
MEREDITH, Delaware Co., N. Y.
A vacation-home where hospitality reigns. Suites with private baths. Electricity, showers and all modern conveniences. A table that tempts with the freshness of its good things. Milk, cream and butter from the famous Meridale herd. Tennis, clock golf, bowling, billiards, etc. Motor livery. Phone via Delhi for accommodations.



GOLDTHWAITE INN
On Great South Bay, Bellport, L. I.
Cool, comfortable, charming Family Resort. Table supplied from own farm. Sports—sailing, fishing, ocean bathing, golf, tennis.

NEW GRANT HOUSE
Stamford, N. Y., in the Catskills
Famous for its cuisine, select clientage, and home atmosphere. Suites with private baths. Orchestra. Golf, tennis, swimming pool. Saddle horses. Booklet. E. L. JONES, Mgr.

Hotel Westminster
"1,000 Islands" and the Great North Country
Write for information and booklet to
Hotel Westminster, Alexandria Bay, New York

HOTEL WANAKENA
WANAKENA, N. Y.
Heart of Adirondacks, on Cranberry Lake
Accommodates 125. Private baths. Best of everything. Write for rates. T. J. FLOOD.

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Hotels and Resorts

NEW YORK

Come to Camp Sacandaga On Lake Sacandaga
A camp for the lovers of the out-of-doors. Refined surroundings. Good table. Large living-hall. Cottages and tents for sleeping. Boats and canoes. Black bass fishing. Hikes into the woods. Nights around the camp-fire. Everything comfortable and homelike. Folder and terms upon application. Address CHAS. T. MEYER, Lake Pleasant, Hamilton Co., N. Y.

PENNSYLVANIA

"Shrenk's Cottage," Cove, Pa. On Susquehanna River. Summer boarding. Season June 15 to Sept. 1. Swimming, boating. Reservation and detailed information Miss C. BRENNEMAN, P. O. Box 934, Harrisburg, Pa.

RHODE ISLAND

The Leading Hotel of
Block Island, Rhode Island
C. C. BALL, Proprietor

French Lady, Experienced Teacher
will receive in her home from June 15th to September 15th two ladies wishing to study and speak French. References. Write to Mme. Ruérat, 304 Benefit St., Providence, R.I.

VERMONT

THE TAVERN
GRAFTON, VT. Ideal Location, bracing air, home cooking. Write for booklet.

COLONIAL INN, Poultney, Vt.
Three modern buildings with all improvements, located in beautiful village in Green Mts. Fresh milk, fruits, and vegetables from farm. Attractive walks and drives. Mountain climbing. Formerly The Dorms. Box O.

Apartments

FOR RENT—Furnished 5-room elevator apartment. July 1 to Sept. 15. Reasonable. References. Dr. E. R. BIRKINS, Apt. 31, 40 Morningside Ave., cor. 118th St., New York.

Country Board

BROOKHURST FARM
HOPEWELL JUNCTION, N. Y. An ideal place to spend a summer vacation. Send for circular.

Country Board House pleasantly situated. Modern conveniences. Capacity six. No children. Bathing. JEAN GORDON, **KENT, CONN.**

Health Resorts

BYRAM LAKE HEALTH FARM
MT. KISCO, N. Y.
In the heart of the Westchester Hills. Ideal resort for the convalescent or those in need of rest or recuperation. Table supply exclusively farm produce. Tennis, hand-ball, boating, fishing, dancing, etc. Resident physician. Prospectus mailed upon request.

"INTERPINES"
Beautiful, quiet, restful and homelike. Over 26 years of successful work. Thorough, reliable, dependable and ethical. Every comfort and convenience. Accommodations of superior quality. Disorder of the nervous system a specialty. Fred. W. Seward, Sr., M.D., Fred. W. Seward, Jr., M.D., Goshen, N. Y.

Crest View Sanatorium
Greenwich, Ct. First-class in all respects, home comforts. H. M. HITCHCOCK, M.D.

Dr. Vail's Sanatorium An exclusive resort in the beautiful Connecticut Valley. Massage, electricity, and baths. Golf and tennis. 3 resident physicians. Under successful management for 30 years. E. S. VAIL, M.D., Thompsonville, Ct.

LINDEN The Ideal Place for Sick People to Get Well
Doylestown, Pa. An institution devoted to the personal study and specialized treatment of the invalid. Massage, Electricity, Hydrotherapy. Apply for circular to ROBERT LIPPINCOTT WALTER, M.D. (late of The Walter Sanitarium)

Dr. Reeves' Sanitarium
A Private Home for chronic, nervous, and mental patients. Also elderly people requiring care. Harriet E. Reeves, M.D., Melrose, Mass.

ALDERBROOK
A delightful country home for the care and treatment of nervous and mental fatigue, chronic invalidism and elderly people. 45 miles

Property Wanted

FARM or ORCHARD Young man, agricultural college education, wishes to own orchard or farm. No security except honesty. New York State preferred. 2,805, Outlook.

Real Estate

CALIFORNIA

FOR SALE—IN CALIFORNIA
Most attractive and valuable mountain ranch in State. Redwood timber, Imperial prune land, vineyard land, 1,080 acres. Will sell cash, $26.00 an acre. Address 2,797, Outlook.

CANADA

Toronto, Canada Furnished, modern, best situation in city. 8 rooms and bath, sun-room, kitchen and kitchenette. June 20th to Sept. 20th. $450. Wire, write CRAIG, 6 Glenholme Ave.

CONNECTICUT

HALF PRICE Beautiful summer home, all conveniences, cost over $50,000, for sale, furnished or unfurnished. Address Box 238, Guilford, Conn.

For Sale—To Close an Estate
SMALL FARM, 40 miles from New York, Bedford Village, on State road, between White Plains and Ridgefield. Old-fashioned house, shade and fruit trees, 7½ acres woodland. A bargain. C. L. KIRSCHNER, 114 Linden St., New Haven, Conn.

HOUSE FOR SALE
10 rooms and bath, hot running water, hot water heat; one acre, large barn, icehouse and chicken house. 105 miles N. Y. City. Fine location for any business requiring transportation. Rear of property joins switch opposite station. Immediate possession. $5,200. LANE, West Cornwall, Litchfield County, Conn.

MAINE

FOR SALE
A BEAUTIFUL COUNTRY HOME
On Lake Sebago, Maine
Fine view of lake and mountains. House has bathrooms, fireplaces, porches, garage, barn, orchards, woods, and sup't's house. Inquire Dr. Owen Smith, 690 Congress St., Portland, Me.

MOOSEHEAD LAKE, MAINE
Camp Caribou
Summer cottage on lake shore, facing mountains; large, fully furnished, seven chambers, hot and cold water, spring water, bathing. Through Pullmans to lake. Trout, salmon and togue. Daily mail. Rental $600, includes ice, fuel and complete equipment. For references, photographs and particulars address F. S. Snyder, 55 Blackstone St., Boston, Mass.

Pemaquid, Maine
Near Portland. For Sale or To Let
The finest estate on the coast of Maine. 300 acres. If desired, the large furnished home will be let separate from the farm. Boating, bathing, and fishing. Fine drives. Address W. G. TIBBETTS, Pemaquid Harbor, Maine.

For Rent at Roque Bluffs, Maine
seven miles from Machias, small furnished cottage with garage and additional sleeping quarters in log cabin, for the summer season. Running water and bath. Property adjoining the sea. Price $200. Apply to FREDERICK W. LONGFELLOW, 28 East 76th St., New York City.

FOR RENT for August and September
At Seal Harbor, Maine
beautifully situated cottage and separate artist's studio. Five master's bedrooms, 2 bathrooms, 3 servants' rooms and bath, electric light, completely furnished. Maids will stay if desired. Rent $1,200. Address Frank Damrosch, 120 Claremont Ave., New York City.

For Sale South Bristol, Maine **Furnished Bungalow.**
Lot of one acre. River and ocean view. Price $2,500. G. R. Nichols, Box 1,629, Phila.

MICHIGAN

FOR SALE
AT A GREAT SACRIFICE
Gentleman's Country Home and Stock Farm
200 acres of cultivated land, well fenced, with every conceivable building needed, including many heavy box stalls for cows, also long row of modern stanchions; fine modern building with 14 pig sties, large chicken houses, grain and hay barns, garages with man's quarters, stables, etc. 21-room house, completely furnished with finest furniture, handsome rugs, etc. Beautiful oak floors and finish throughout; every modern convenience. Separate apartment for manager or caretaker. Fine shrubbery and beautiful trees. Also an evergreen nursery with several thousand trees. Property is nine miles from Jackson; only two miles from a main line station of Michigan Central R. R. For full particulars, address

Real Estate

MASSACHUSETTS

FOR SALE
An Attractive Summer Residence
IN BECKET
In
The Berkshire Hills
with garage for two cars, vegetable garden, apple orchard, flower garden, unexcelled artesian well water. House, Swiss chalet architecture, 11 rooms, 3 bathrooms, screened dining-porch and sleeping-porches. Only a few minutes from village stores and railway station. State road all the way from Pittsfield, Lenox, and Springfield. Altitude 1,400 feet. Beautiful view of surrounding hills. For information address E. O. SUTTON, 12 Ingraham Terrace, Springfield, Mass.

FOR RENT
In the Berkshires
For July, August, and September
A modern country house, occupied by owner during winter. 14 rooms, 3 baths, garage. Ice furnished, milk and cream from farmer on estate. Situated on eastern slope of Mt. Everett. Excellent golf course six miles distant. Tel. 175M Great Barrington, Mass. Mail address, Mrs. Hamilton Gibson, Sheffield, Mass.

FOR RENT
Summer cottage, situated in the pines, beautiful town, **Northfield, Mass. Also, in New York City,** a three-room and bath apartment, attractively furnished, piano, summer months. Address. I. V. WHALEN, Mountain Lakes, N. J. Tel. 484 Boonton.

NEW HAMPSHIRE

NEW HAMPSHIRE
House, 9 bedrooms, bathroom, for rent to refined people for summer season. Delightfully located on New England farm near Portsmouth and Concord. Every convenience. Fully furnished. Open fires. Wood supply free. Rent $500. Apply for particulars
JOHN F. SCOTT,
47 W. 34th St., New York, N. Y.

NEW JERSEY

MONTCLAIR, N. J. Beautiful modern home near top of ridge; spacious rooms, high quality throughout. 1st floor: wide hall, reception-room 15x17; library 16x17, built-in bookcases, wide fireplace; dining-room 18x15 (fireplace); kitchen, butler's pantry; trim and paneling white enamel and brown oak floors, quartered oak. 2d floor: 7 rooms, 3 tiled baths (Mott plumbing and showers), white enamel trim, fireplaces; 3 rooms form distinct suite; sleeping-porch and bath. 3d floor: servants' rooms (bath); studio 18x37; billiard-room 16x36 (fireplace). Inter-room telephone. Construction hollow tile, brick and shingles. 200 ft. front x 140. Large garage, fruit and shade trees. House 6 years old, perfect condition. $45,000. Early possession. Also other similar properties. HILTON C. BREWER, Trust Co. Building, Glen Ridge, N. J. Phone 6020.

NEW YORK

FOR RENT During July and August, six-room house, attractively furnished. A1 references required. For particulars phone Bayside 517 M.

TO RENT
"Pinehurst" near Lake Placid
FOR SEASON
Furnished COTTAGE consisting of the following rooms: large living-room 16x28, massive open fireplace in nook, large dining-room, butler's pantry, kitchen, laundry, cellar, 2 sleeping rooms and bath en suite; has large closets, sleeping porch front and living porches front and rear. Beautiful shade of pine, maple, birch. Good boating, swimming, fishing. Rent for season, $500. Address E. C. OLNEY, Keith Theater Bldg., Syracuse, N. Y.

FOR RENT on LAKE GEORGE
Furnished Cottages and Bungalows
Golf, tennis, boating, bathing, fishing.
Glenburnie Co., Glenburnie, N. Y.

2 furnished homes for rent on Lake George 11 rooms, 3 baths, motor boat, tennis court and garden. 8 rooms, 2 baths, sleeping porches. Beautiful location opposite Sabbath Day Point. 64 W. 56th St., New York.

SCARSDALE, N. Y. Furnished cottage,

Real Estate

NEW YORK

For Sale, at Shelter Island Heights, N. Y.
AT A BARGAIN, a large cottage, finely located, commanding a wonderful view. For particulars address RALPH G. DUVALL, Shelter Island Heights, N. Y.

SPARKILL, N. Y.—FOR SALE
Country estate. 5 acres, 10 rooms, all improvements. Express depot. Near golf links. All modern conveniences; garage. $20,000. Address OSWALD A. BAUER, Sparkill, N.Y.

FOR SALE
Westchester County, N. Y.
Attractive Building Site of Nine Acres
on the State road near the picturesque village of South Salem, four miles from Ridgefield, Conn., nine miles from Katonah, N. Y., and sixteen miles from Long Island Sound. Beautiful country, comprising hills, woods, and lakes. Inquire of owner, Mrs. G. C. VAN NORDEN, 40 South St., Pittsfield, Mass.

VERMONT

For Sale, Charlotte, Vt. On **Lake Champlain,** 10 room cottage, garage, ice house. 2 acres. Mrs. C. A. AUSTIN, 28 Reynolds Terrace, Orange, N. J.

AGENTS WANTED

INSYDE TIRES—inner armor for automobile tires; prevent punctures and blow-outs; double tire mileage. Liberal profits. Details free. American Accessories Co., Cincinnati, Ohio, Dept. 127.

BOARD AND ROOMS

FOR rent—Room and private bath for one or two persons. Men preferred. Breakfast. 5 minutes to station. References. Address Box 368, Dobbs Ferry, N. Y.

TWO middle-aged ladies desire quiet, restful, refined home with private family next fall, part or whole of next winter. Must be outside of but accessible to New York. Two good-sized rooms, private bath required, good service, excellent table. Only exceptional references offered or accepted. 8,575, Outlook.

BUSINESS OPPORTUNITIES

INVENTIONS wanted. Cash or royalty for ideas. Adam Fisher Mfg. Co., 217, St. Louis, Mo.

LITERARY WOMAN

DESIRES summer travel abroad or United States as chaperon, companion. Also qualified to assist in fiction, research or editorial work. French—Spanish. 8,572, Outlook.

MANUSCRIPTS

STORIES, poems, plays, etc., are wanted for publication. Submit MSS. or write Literary Bureau, 325, Hannibal, Mo.

HELP WANTED

Professional Situations

WANTED, for boys' camp in the Adirondacks, young graduate physician. Fine opportunity. 8,540, Outlook.

Business Situations

WRITE photoplays: $25-$300 paid anyone for suitable ideas. Experience unnecessary; complete outline free. Producers League, 438, St. Louis.

RAILWAY traffic inspectors earn from $110 to $200 per month and expenses. Travel if desired. Unlimited advancement. No age limit. We train you. Positions furnished under guarantee. Write for booklet CM27. Standard Business Training Institute, Buffalo, N. Y.

WANTED—Young man for social service work in Kentucky mountains. One with knowledge of gymnastics and indoor athletics preferred. Should be religious and exemplary and have special interest in this kind of work. Address Miss May Stone, Hindman Settlement School, Hindman, Ky.

WANTED—Woman to serve on our Executive Committee; only one other member. College trained person preferred; should have executive experience. Useful, attractive work for the mountain people. Position of responsibility; thirty teachers and workers. Address Miss May Stone, Hindman Settlement School, Hindman, Ky.

WANTED—Man for superintendent of buildings. An all around mechanic to supervise and keep in repair power plant, heating systems, and buildings. Should be man of moral convictions, religious training, and interested in educational work. Communicate with Miss May Stone, Hindman Settlement School, Hindman, Knott County, Ky.

Companions and Domestic Helpers

WANTED—Supervisor for girls, ages twelve to fifteen. Must be good disciplinarian, orderly, neat, and a good seamstress. Also supervisor for boys, ages five to nine. Must take a mother's interest in the boys. Protestant Home, 605 Niagara St., Buffalo, N. Y.

MATRON wanted for small home for the aged. 15 inmates. 20 miles from New York. Applicant must be of high character, sound health, and should have had practical experience in caring for a large household. An assistant is provided. Address 5,168, Outlook.

NURSERY governess or mother's helper, Protestant, educated, refined, age 30 to 40, for two children, ages 4½ and 3 years. Spring Lake, New Jersey, for entire summer, winters East Orange. Highest references essential. Wages $60. 8,542, Outlook.

WANTED, at seashore, for July and August, governess-companion for boy 8 and girl 12. Must be fond of children and outdoor life.

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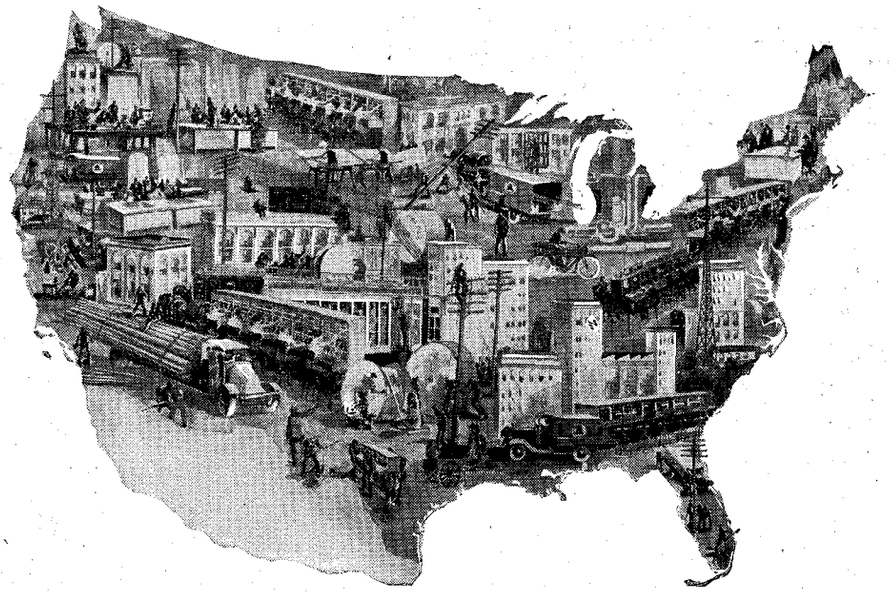

The laborer is worthy of his hire

All service is worthy of its hire and good service cannot be continuously obtained unless adequately rewarded.

From the beginning of telephone history the American public has received the best telephone service of any country in the world. In proportion to the service rendered the people have paid less for this telephone service than any other country in the world.

The reason why the American people have received the highest type of telephone service at the least proportionate cost is because the Bell System has been operated on a scientifically economic basis.

Every device which inventive skill, engineering ability, labor and time saving talent has been able to create; every efficiency known to buying, operation, executive control and financial conduct has been employed.

Public service companies feel the high cost of living as well as individuals. Pay them enough to make possible their giving good service. There is no permanent saving in poorly paid service.

In this land of opportunity none of us is willing to jeopardize his success or happiness by stinting the payment necessary to secure the most helpful and efficient service.

AMERICAN TELEPHONE AND TELEGRAPH COMPANY
AND ASSOCIATED COMPANIES

One Policy *One System* *Universal Service*

THE NEW NATIONALISM

By Theodore Roosevelt

With a Historical Summary by Lyman Abbott

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A collection of important public addresses delivered by Mr. Roosevelt in August and September, 1910, in the course of a journey of over five thousand miles through fourteen States.

In his speech at the Labor Day Celebration in Fargo, North Dakota, on September 5, 1910, he defined with wonderful vision the issues between Labor and Capital which are now causing such acute unrest—not only in our own country but throughout the entire civilized world.

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